

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *W. H. Roper*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: 10/18/55

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

Nichols ☒

Belmont ☒

Mohr ☒

Parsons ☒

Rosen ☒

Tamm ☒

Sizoo ☒

Winterrowd ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Holloman ☒

Gandy ☒

DC

Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), called me from New York on 10/18/55, to advise that the dinner which had been planned for Fulton Lewis and Elmo Roper was canceled on Monday night, 10/17/55, since Roper could not get to New York by reason of the flood.

Ferman further told me that Marquis Childs had told him that Arthur Dean had resigned from the Board of the Fund for the Republic. Ferman stated that Childs is emotionally supporting the Fund for the Republic and he feels that there has not been enough influence brought to bear on Childs. Childs told Ferman that he thought Dean did not have the guts to fight it through.

Ferman has further learned from a member of the Staff of the Fund for the Republic that Dean has resigned; that a deal was made whereby Dean's resignation will not be made public, at least for the present time. Ferman stated that the officials of the Fund for the Republic are worried, are upset, and the Fulton Lewis broadcasts have had a telling effect upon them; that the story is going around that W. H. Ferry is beaten down and is talking in terms of taking a long leave of absence and quietly bowing out. Ferman is trying to smoke out the Dean resignation because he feels that it will have terrific effect upon other members of the Fund as well it might.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

There is attached a suggested memorandum to the Attorney General regarding Dean's resignation.

LBN:fc
(4)

INDEXED - 75
RECORDED - 75

Enclosure *sent 10-21-55*

100-391697-247
16 OCT 31 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY 0083 JLO
311279639

68 NOV 7-1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 19, 1955

Lewis stated a Scripps-Howard newspaper story today states that Professor Rossiter told reporter, Jack Steele, frankly that Earl Browder is working for his project and is being paid fairly well, although he would not say how much. When asked if Browder could be classified as a paid informer, Rossiter objected and said it would be more accurate to call him a "paid commentator." Lewis said the reason for the distinction is that the Fund is also making a study of the use of paid informers. Lewis said this is what finally boils out of this fancy sounding, "A Study of Communist Influence in American Life," Professor Rossiter, Theodore Draper and Earl Browder. He stated for this the Fund for the Republic is appropriating \$550,000.

In conclusion, Lewis stated that Henry Ford II has now undertaken answer protests which he has received concerning the activities of the Fund for the Republic in individual, personal letters signed by him personally. Ford claims the Ford Foundation has no control over the Fund for the Republic and merely gave a grant of \$15,000,000 with no strings attached. He refers the writers of the protest letters to the Fund for the Republic and suggests they make their complaints directly to the Fund.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

100-391697-248

Mr. Nichols

October 17, 1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY 20880 J3)af

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his news broadcast of October 19, 1955, devoted the last half of his fifteen minutes time to the Fund for the Republic. He stated that the annual report for the Fund for the Republic reflects that Earl Browder is on the payroll of the Fund for the Republic, and is an example of how Robert Hutchins operates in the expenditure of their \$15,000,000 and illustrates the general over-all pattern of what they are doing. He referred to page 17 of the annual report of the Fund for the Republic concerning "A Study of Communist Influence in American Life." He stated this sounded like a noble endeavor until you read the fine print. He stated, in effect, it sounds as if it is the same thing that the House Un-American Activities Committee was trying to delve into and what several Senate committees are doing. He stated that when you read the fine print and look into who is going to work on this project, then the light begins to dawn. He said the Director of the project is none other than Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University. He described Rossiter as an extreme liberal.

He stated the Director of the subcommittee project called "History of the Communist Party, 1919-1945," is one Theodore Draper. He said that to the average citizen, and possibly even to some of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic, the name Theodore Draper would mean no more than the name John Doe. He stated Draper began his career some years ago as a reporter for the Communist "Daily Worker" and after that graduated to some of the more erudite newspapers and periodicals. Lewis stated this is the "bloke" that the Fund for the Republic has hired to cook up an unbiased report to the American people on the history of the Communist Party. He stated that on Draper's payroll is Earl Browder himself, long recognized as Communism's number one leader in the United States. Lewis said that when he first broke this story, the Fund for the Republic issued an official statement in the name of Professor Rossiter saying, "Mr. Browder is not an employee, a consultant, a staff member, researcher or any other kind of employee or associate of the project of the Fund for the Republic." He stated the truth is that Browder, not only is and has been employed by the Fund, but he is on the record as such having appearing before a closed session of the Senate Internal Security Committee within the last few days and admitting to this.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Rosen
cc - Mr. Belmont

INDEXED - 75

1 100-391677 - 248
NOT RECORDED
103 NOV 1 1955

cc - Fund for the Republic file #100-391677

63-145/65w 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 19, 1955

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

WALTER MILLIS
CONSULTANT
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols ☒
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

David Lawrence told me that in the late 1920s or early 1930s

Walter Millis wrote a book called "The Road to War." This book followed the Alger Hiss line against the munition makers and Millis got into considerable trouble over this book which has always pegged Millis in Lawrence's mind as being either a fuzzy thinker or a left winger.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-27-89 BY SP8 BTJ/KSP

INDEXED - 75

RECORDED - 75

OCT 21 1955

LITTON

68 NOV 9 - 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *W. J. [unclear]*

DATE 10/26/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

YARMOLINSKY SURVEY
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated 10/25/55, with which I transmitted a list of the names of the cases identified in the Yarmolinsky study through Tom Donegan's Committee and to my recommendation that the Yarmolinsky report and each case therein be reviewed.

In this connection, Tom Donegan advised Mr. McGuire at 4:30 p.m. today, that he was sending a memorandum to the Department today which will go to Walter Yeagley concerning the identification of the cases in the Yarmolinsky report. Donegan advised that there were two Navy cases in the list he furnished me yesterday which was transmitted by my memorandum of 10/25/55, which were not clearly identified. He stated both of these two Navy cases have now definitely been identified as those involving [redacted] and [redacted]. These cases, of course, should be reviewed in connection with the remaining cases transmitted with my memorandum of 10/25/55.

b6
b7c

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Stanley

JJM:fc
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/89 BY 2088 B7J

NOV 2 1955

NOV 2 1955

RECEIVED

NOV 2 1955

RECEIVED

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

FREEDOM AGENDA

1 - Section 7
1 - Mr. Young
1 - Mr. Felt
October 23, 1955

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast of October 21, 1955, discussed the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Lewis, after finishing his discussion on the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic, stated that he would go into the "Freedom Agenda" and show how cleverly, diabolically clever, the propaganda efforts were devised.

I thought you might be interested in the information contained in the files of this Bureau concerning the "Freedom Agenda." No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau regarding the "Freedom Agenda"; however, our files do contain miscellaneous references to it. Established confidential informants and sources of information in our New York City office as of September 19, 1955, failed to disclose any information indicating that any grants of money were being used for subversive purposes or to further Communist causes.

George E. Sokolsky's column in the July 3, 1955, issue of "New York Journal American" stated: "A group of pamphlets, entitled 'Freedom Agenda,' has been issued under the sponsorship of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., (CCMF) an organization created by the League of Women Voters, and financed by the Fund for the Republic to which the Ford Foundation contributed \$25,000,000.00."

FBI files contain no pertinent information of a subversive nature concerning the CCMF; however, the May 1, 1955, edition of the "Firing Line," distributed by the National American Commission of the American Legion, noted that some of the pamphlets "contain statements which are untrue and unpatriotic." This issue of the "Firing Line" lists the subversive affiliations of certain authors of books recommended for further reading in the Freedom Agenda booklets.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

ABF:Imm

Cover memo Belmont to Boardman
Re: same caption

COMM - FBI
OCT 25 1955
MAILED 31

DIVISION SECTION

CONFIDENTIAL

65 NOV 7 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 77-4-3177-15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Among those authors recommended are Thomas Y. Doergen, Walter Gellhorn, Edward Rufford Jones and Alexander Heiklejohn, all of whom have been sponsors or affiliated with organizations cited by the Attorney General or Congressional committees.

The "Firing Line" concludes with the statement, "The Freedom Agenda Program is one which legionnaires will not care to support." The "Firing Line" also stated that "the Freedom Agenda Program was made possible by a grant from the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation and was founded in 1947."

Mrs. Raymond M. Hitt, of unknown reliability, on June 7, 1955, advised our Boston office that she was a member of the League of Women Voters. She described the actual purpose of the Freedom Agenda Program as a "carefully planned attack upon the security and the loyalty oath program of our country, upon the Congressional investigating committees, and upon the FBI."

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : H. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1955

DATE: October 21, 1955

Tele. Room
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Fulton Lewis in his broadcast of October 21, 1955, devoted about five minutes to the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Lewis said that he had been told by Senator Bricker that he, Bricker, had blocked a recent proposal for the Fund to be given the responsibility to investigate the operations of the radio and television industry. The entire job of gathering the material for a subcommittee of Congress (apparently investigating the radio and television industry) would be turned over exclusively to the Fund for the Republic. The Fund would have the sole responsibility of processing this material. The chairman of this Congressional subcommittee, Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D-Washington), had said publicly that it was a good idea and would save the committee and Congress a lot of money and this was a job he felt the Fund could handle. Lewis stated, that in view of the past activities of the Fund, the public would have a pretty good idea of just how this would be handled if turned over to the Fund. He stated they might very well have "bugged" some jury rooms and might have hired not only Earl Browder, this time but also William Z. Foster as well. The most frightening thing he stated, was to see how close the Fund came to getting this opportunity.

Lewis stated the Fund had the chairman sold on the idea and it was only after Senator Bricker contacted the chairman, Magnuson, and told him what the Fund really was, that it was completely slanted, nothing more than a "left-wing" propaganda operation, that the idea was dropped. Mr. Lewis said that Bricker actually told Magnuson that he would take the fight to the floor of the Senate to keep the Fund from getting the job.

Belmont to Boardman
10-25-55
2:00 PM 10-26-55
GBF

- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Belmont

RECEIVED OCT 24 1955
FBI
INTECH SECTION

for the Republic, file 100-391697

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY [signature]

Lewis stated that in the eight weeks he had reported on the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation, he had been literally swamped with requests for copies of the script. He stated that it was not possible, financially or stenographically, to comply with these requests. He is having the entire series of broadcasts printed in book form and will sell them for one dollar each plus postage.

Lewis stated that, as it is, the Fund had already set up two investigations into radio and television, one for \$25,000 and one for \$100,000. Lewis stated that, had this deal gone through, he would have been able to conduct these alleged studies under the cloak of a Congressional subcommittee with the power of subpoena and the full force of Congressional authority behind them. Lewis stated this was "bold business indeed!"

Lewis stated that in the eight weeks he had reported on the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation, he had been literally swamped with requests for copies of the script. He stated that it was not possible, financially or stenographically, to comply with these requests. He is having the entire series of broadcasts printed in book form and will sell them for one dollar each plus postage.

After finishing with the Ford Foundation, he stated he would go into the "Freedom Agenda" and show how cleverly, diabolically clever, the propaganda efforts are devised.

RECOMMENDATION: None, for information.

✓
h
What do you think
[Signature]

MR. NICHOLS

10/25/55

W. G. EAMES

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS
(Bufile 100-385355)

Congressman Carroll B. Reece, who was chairman of a special committee to investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, House of Representatives, in the 83rd Congress, Second Session, has recently forwarded to Inspector W. C. Sullivan the attached committee hearings on House Resolution 217 in this matter. These hearings have been published in two parts--part one, pages 1 through 943, and part two, pages 945 through 1241. Inspector Sullivan has made this available to the Records Section inasmuch as we had not received this before. This was made available to the Central Research Section in its recent efforts concerning the monograph on the Fund for the Republic.

We had previously received a report on the same hearing and that was reviewed in memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman, 12/29/54 (100-385355-37). The report was not indexed extensively at the time of its receipt but was subsequently indexed when the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic became of greater interest to the Bureau recently. A composite index to the Reece Committee's hearings, appendix and report was received and is filed in 100-385355-40. It was not indexed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above described hearings be herewith incorporated into the above Bureau file, and the hearings indexed on a selective basis to avoid duplicity with indexing previously done in Serial 37 of this file.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-27-89 BY 28851 J-8

Enclosure (2)

cc--for Inspector W. C. Sullivan
100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

LML:jmc
(5)

100-391697- ✓

NOV 1 1955

52 NOV 4 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

DATE: October 25, 1955

Tolson ☒
Boardman ☒
Belmont ☒
Clegg ☒
Glavin ☒
Harbo ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

SUBJECT: YARMOLINSKY SURVEY
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY 8888 BT

A long time ago I talked to Tom Donegan about the possibility of identifying the cases in the Yarmolinsky study through his Committee. I inquired of Donegan on October 24th what progress had been made and he told me that they had fairly well identified most of the cases involved and that he had received several memoranda from various Government agencies comparing the case as the agency knew it with the Yarmolinsky report. Donegan gave me a list of the names which they have identified, which is attached, and is sending over to us copies of the memoranda he has received to date. Donegan is also writing a letter to Tompkins furnishing the list to Tompkins and asking Tompkins to review the files to determine whether there are any violations involved. Donegan wants to get his communication to Tompkins first. He does not want Tompkins to be in the position of calling on him for things. Accordingly, there is no need for us to disseminate the list.

I do think that now that we have got the cases identified that the Yarmolinsky report should be reviewed and that each case, likewise, should be reviewed from the Bureau's standpoint so that we can have a memorandum pointing out data not set forth in the Yarmolinsky report and data wherein the Yarmolinsky report is biased. In this connection, I have had several talks with Warren Burger who wants to get cases identified with a view of the Department taking some steps to answer criticism which has been directed at the security program. The Director had previously instructed that we should help all we can. To date we have only been able to identify six cases within the Bureau.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Rosen
cc - Mr. Stanley

Enclosure.

LBN:ptm
(6)

100-391697-✓
NOT RECORDED
176 NOV 2 1955

OCT 28 2 07 PM '55
FBI

RECEIVED

63 NOV 8 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-101861-18

Mr. Nichols

October 25, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
OCTOBER 25, 1955.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-29-89 BY SP8D1718

Lewis stated that he received a letter from a listener in which she enclosed communications received from the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic. The lady stated that she wrote a letter of protest to the Ford Foundation concerning the operations of the Fund for the Republic and in return received a form letter signed by Henry Ford II, stating that she should correspond with the Fund for the Republic and give them the benefit of her thinking.

The lady thereupon wrote the Fund for the Republic at their New York address and suggested that if they were going to look into the security and loyalty programs it might be best to have such individuals as Richard and Gladys Harkness do the job. (Authors of the Readers Digest articles entitled "How About These Security Cases?")

In the lady's letter she stated that such people as the Harknesses, with their sound principles, should be entrusted such tasks rather than "left-wing" individuals.

In reply to her postcard, the lady received an airmail form letter from the Fund for the Republic postmarked in Pasadena, California. This letter she received stated, "as a lawyer, I must warn you that your postcard received here today is libelous and the individuals you have libeled cannot be expected to submit to continued accusations of this type." This letter, which bore the stamped signature of Robert Hutchins, then set forth the identities of those individuals composing the Fund's committee to investigate loyalty and security programs.

Lewis stated he would discuss this committee tomorrow evening.
(10-26-55)

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

100-391677-
NOT RECORDED
OCT 31 1955

cc - Boardman

cc - Belmont

cc - Nichols

cc - Fund for the Republic, File 100-321667

JTM:jh

1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY SP8013/af

100-391697-

October 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. NICHOLS

This morning the National Commander of the American Legion, J. Addington Wagner, called at my office accompanied by Inspector DeLoach.

Mr. Wagner expressed the high regard of the Legion for the FBI and the desire to be of service during his administration as National Commander. He spoke most highly of Inspector DeLoach and hoped that they could work in close cooperation. I took occasion to thank the National Commander for the great support which the Legion has given to this Bureau over the years and advised him that I was delighted with his election to the National Commandership because it assured further continuation of this relationship.

I discussed with the National Commander the recent action of the Legion in connection with the Ford Fund for the Republic and commended him upon the stand which the Legion had taken because I considered the action of the Legion in drawing the spotlight upon this sinister organization to be an outstanding contribution to true Americanism.

The National Commander stated he had had a conference with Mr. Henry Ford, President of the Ford Motor Company, who was quite concerned about developments and he, the National Commander, believed some action will shortly be taken by Mr. Ford and his associates to clarify the situation.

Very truly yours,

151 J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

66 NOV 2 1955

JEH:tlc (5)

SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	3:11 PM
DATE	10-25-55
BY	dam

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 22,
1955

FROM : Mr. Nichols

SUBJECT:

J. ADDINGTON WAGNER, NATIONAL COMMANDER
THE AMERICAN LEGION
HERMAN LUHRS, VICE PRESIDENT
GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION

Tolson ☒
Boardman ☒
Belmont ☒
Clegg ☒
Glavin ☒
Harbo ☒
Ladd ☒
Nichols ☒
Rosen ☒
Tracy ☒
Mohr ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

[redacted] to J. Addington Wagner, new National Commander of the American Legion, called DeLoach at 1:00 p.m., Saturday, 10-22-55 and stated that Herman Luhrs, Vice President of General Motors, a close friend of Wagner's and also Wagner's campaign manager, was in town and that Wagner would like very much for Luhrs to accompany him when he met the Director at 10:00 a.m., Monday, 10-24-55. [redacted] went on to say that Luhrs was a close friend of Secretary of Defense Wilson, that he had admired the Director greatly for a long period of time, and that if Mr. Hoover didn't mind, it certainly would be a privilege for Luhrs to accompany Wagner. DeLoach told [redacted] that the Director would, of course, be very glad to see Mr. Luhrs.

Bufiles reflect no derogatory information concerning Mr. Luhrs. For a lengthy period of time, he served as Chief of Plant Protection of the Buick Motor Company. In this category, he was very cooperative with our Detroit Office.

[redacted] Mr. Luhrs has additionally served as Department Commander of the American Legion of the State of Michigan.

ACTION:

For information
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-27-89 BY 0038 (SIT) ag

cc - Mr. Holloman

cc - Mr. Jones

RECEIVED - MICHIGAN

RECEIVED OCT 28 1955
OCT 28 1955

OCT 28 1955

CDD:afb
(6)

Handwritten notes:
Newman Tolson
Nichols
10-24-55
JEH:ale

CRIME RECO.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. C. B.*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT :

DATE: 10/24/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY 2038 C/S

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

I thought you and the Director would be interested in remarks made by J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, following his conference with the Director this morning at 10:00 a.m. DeLoach advised me that the Director's remarks and advice to Wagner certainly inspired him. He left the Director's Office with a new understanding concerning the Fund for the Republic and most certainly with a renewed initiative about the Legion's program for the future.

Wagner mentioned confidentially that young Henry Ford had personally called him and told him about his meeting with the Director in New York City. Ford reportedly stated that he was somewhat nonplused and concerned over the Director's abruptness concerning the Ford Motor Company's participation in the Fund for the Republic. Wagner added to these remarks that Mr. Hoover made a distinct impression upon Ford and that the Director's abruptness was by far the best thing that could have been done inasmuch as Ford is an individual who understands and respects abruptness more than anything else.

Wagner mentioned that Seaborn P. Collins, past National Commander of the American Legion, has an appointment with Henry Ford tomorrow morning, 10/25/55. Wagner will call Collins tonight and tell him to insist on Ford making a public disavowal of interest in the Fund for the Republic. Wagner stated he knew he could handle this and that he felt certain Ford would be willing to go this far. Wagner continued that Henry Ford, II, is greatly concerned about this matter and undoubtedly some action will be taken in the near future. Wagner mentioned twice this morning that he would like very much to lean upon the Director for guidance in the future. He stated that he is in town about once every six weeks; that he would like to feel to either call upon the Director occasionally or to call DeLoach and have DeLoach relay the messages concerning various problems that the Legion is engaged in. He was advised that the Director would be happy to assist him in any way possible.

Commander Wagner was of the opinion that although the "upper brass" of the American Legion are headed in the right direction, that the same time he feels certain they are not fully aware of the dangers of Communism and of the full

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

10/24/55

impact Communism is making upon the U. S. as a whole. He stated that it would be wonderful if the Director would allow an FBI representative to brief the Executive Committee of the American Legion on matters concerning internal security within the near future. He wanted to know if DeLoach could handle this assignment inasmuch as he would undoubtedly be in Indianapolis anyhow to serve as a Counselor for the Americanism Commission. Commander Wagner was advised that the matter would be discussed and we would, of course, let him know in the event he desired to carry this plan through to completion. We, of course, have done this once before when the National Executive Committee met in closed session in Indianapolis.

yes *I think we should.* *DeLoach could have approved*
outline.
After departing the Director's Office, Wagner insisted that DeLoach accompany him to the Office of J. H. Carmichael, President of Capital Airlines where Jennings Randolph, former Congressman from West Virginia, and Vince Riley, a racetrack official from Charles Town, West Virginia, were awaiting Wagner. All of the above-mentioned gentlemen were most kind in their remarks concerning the Director and the FBI and it is felt that the time with Wagner was well spent.

ACTION:

probably
heads Riley

For information. Wagner's request to us concerning the briefing of the National Executive Committee was entirely informal and there is no action to be taken on this until a formal request is received.

[Handwritten marks: a checkmark, a signature, and a large 'D']

DATE: October 19, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-27-89 BY 28861 JAG

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.'S
7:00 P.M. BROADCAST
OCTOBER 18, 1955

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

During captioned broadcast, Fulton Lewis made reference to the recent flood disaster in the New England States and pointed out that insurance would not cover those whose homes were damaged or lost. He also pointed out that even though the Government was providing relief in the form of loans, et cetera, the loss of property of the victims could not be recovered since the Government's aid is on a loan basis.

Lewis then made reference to the millions of dollars available to the Ford Foundation which had made funds available to Chicago University to conduct a jury investigation and to people of various foreign countries. He also referred to the \$15,000,000 given to the Fund for the Republic for its study of safeguarding of civil liberties. Lewis suggested that some of the Ford Foundation's money be contributed to the relief of the flood victims since they had no other relief.

Lewis then made reference to a news item datelined Westfield, New Jersey, October 17, 1955, which indicated that Mark E. Richardson was rumored to be under consideration as successor to T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Lewis then pointed out that Internal Revenue Service was inquiring into the tax exempt status of the Fund for the Republic and mentioned that it was determined the Fund was a political propaganda unit then it would be subject to considerable taxation. Lewis then made reference to the annual report of the Fund for the Republic which reflected that Lybrand, Ross Bros., and Montgomery, a New York accounting firm, had examined the books and statements of the Fund for the Republic. He then pointed out that Richardson was employed by Lybrand, Ross Bros., and Montgomery.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Mohr
cc - Mr. Parsons
cc - Mr. Rosen
cc - Mr. Tamm
cc - Mr. Trotter
cc - Mr. Winterrowd
cc - Mr. Tele. Room
cc - Mr. Holloman
cc - Mr. Gandy

GTP:mbk
(8)

RECEIVED - MICRO

OCT 17 1955

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OCT 19 1955

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Mr. Nichols

October 23, 1955

H. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FOLTER LEWIS BROADCAST
OCTOBER 23, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/27/89 BY 203250/af
279638 279839

In Lewis's captioned broadcast he continued his discussion of the Ford Fund for the Republic. He referred to the annual report, page 39, which lists Arthur E. Southerland, Professor of Law at Harvard University, and his work in the project, "A Study of the Communist Record, Including Bibliography, Digest and Microfilm." He continued that Southerland's group, with Charles E. Corker of Stanford University, went to work on the project in 1953. Lewis pointed out that the Fund had prepared a full bibliography on communism which had been placed in a few large libraries throughout the country. Lewis referred to this action as a "library stuffing project." He said this information is now in 1,200 libraries over the nation as "bibles" of reference material on the subject of communism.

Lewis also referred to Frederick Voltman(ph.), staff writer for the Scripps Howard newspapers, who in his column on Friday said that an outstanding scientist who had studied the volume stated the work was so ineptly done that it omitted a vast selection of anti-communist books. One leading educator was quoted as saying to Southerland that he deserved a vote of thanks from the Communist Party and that from the standpoint of non-communism, the volume was an outrageous performance.

Lewis also referred to the magazine, "New Leader," which carried an article referring to the study and stated that it would be difficult to imagine a work which was more badly done. This article also stated that this study omitted many of the important works of writers who had done much to illuminate the problem. Lewis stated the article ended that there were two possible explanations as to what had happened.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic File 100-301097

FJH:jh:n1
(7)

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46 NOV 2 1955

68 NOV 3 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-4-8-107-211

Jones to Nichols Memorandum

October 23, 1955

One is that the book results from incompetence; that its compilers honestly did not know where to look for the material. The article pointed out that if this were true, it was a slight excuse, since the work was too important to be left to amateurs. The second reason was implied that the anti anti-communists had touched this work. The article concluded that the job had been so badly done that there was nothing left but to do it over again.

Lewis concluded his broadcast by reminding his listeners that the volume of complete scripts of his broadcasts relating to the Fund for the Republic can be obtained for one dollar a copy from his office in Washington. He stated the volume contains a complete index.

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

Mr. Nichols

October 26, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
OCTOBER 26, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/89 BY 088502

Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted his entire 15-minute period to the Fund for the Republic.

He started off by stating that Arthur H. Dean had resigned as a director of the Fund giving as a reason that he disapproves and disagrees with the policies of the Fund. Dean was reluctant to discuss the matter with reporters and referred them to Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund, who in turn referred them back to Mr. Dean after confirming Dean's resignation. Dean stated he was sorry he had to resign because Hoffman is a close personal friend, and he does not want to do anything that would embarrass him. Hoffman, in his brief discussion of the matter, threw in the cryptic remark, "I can't believe that Mr. Dean doesn't believe in the Bill of Rights." Lewis stated that actually the remark is not so cryptic but is rather a reflection of the elusive jargon that all of the top side of the Fund for the Republic use constantly. He stated they contend the Fund is a defense of the Bill of Rights and Civil Liberties and, therefore, if you disagree with them, you disagree with the Bill of Rights and are against Civil Liberties. Lewis stated that Hoffman even used this pitch at a man who considers him a personal friend. He said that half of the Board of Directors of the Fund are on there for the same reason, personal friendship to Paul Hoffman, but there are likely to be other resignations following this one.

Lewis then reiterated the story he told the previous night of the woman who wrote to the Fund suggesting the Harknesses to look into the Loyalty-Security Program rather than other "left-wing" individuals. She had received a letter in reply from Robert Hutchins in which Hutchins stated that her accusation was libelous. Lewis stated that Hutchins then listed as heading the program a list of nine lawyers in various parts of the nation as constituting a committee to study the Loyalty-Security Program. He stated Hutchins seized on this particular project concerning Loyalty-Security and ignored the many other projects of the Fund which attacked the Loyalty-Security Program.

Lewis said that even this particular program, however, is questionable in character, particularly when Hutchins in the annual report of the Fund says that the committee of lawyers is going to make a "dispassionate appraisal" of the

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391597

RGK:ew 1955

NOT RECORDED

102 OCT 31 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 26, 1955

Loyalty-Security Program. Lewis said it so happens there is a paid consultant on the staff of the Fund for the Republic by the name of Walter Millus whom he described as a former assistant editorial writer of the New York Herald-Tribune and a member of the Herald-Tribune syndicate. He stated Millus' views and writings were so far to the extreme liberal side that it was no surprise to the New York newspaper fraternity when his column was dropped by the New York Herald-Tribune and he later ceased writing for the Herald-Tribune syndicate. This was approximately one and one-half years ago.

Lewis stated that Millus as a paid consultant is associated with the particular project of the Fund "The Lawyers' Study of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program." Lewis said he recently printed this information in one of his columns and Millus denied any connection with the project but it so happens that he (Lewis) has a letter over Millus' own signature which associates him with the project so Millus will have to disprove his own letter.

Lewis said that Millus recently participated in the radio program, "The Leading Question," CBS, in which he debated with Judge Robert Morris, former Chief Counsel of the Internal Security Subcommittee, now a Municipal Judge in New York. The subject of the debate was "The Loyalty-Security Program." Lewis said one sentence from the transcript is enough to characterize Millus and quoted the following sentence from the debate made by Millus, "What I object to is not the procedure in the Loyalty-Security Program but the very fact that the system is there."

Lewis stated that as late as last month Millus wrote a newspaper article entitled "Are Subversives Really Subversive?" which was a tirade of attack against the Loyalty-Security Program as a whole and against the FDI in particular. He referred to the FDI in this article as "a secret political police." Millus, in the article, stated that the truth seems to be that the great structure of internal security does not rest upon hard facts at all but on a series of indefinable feelings and terrifying assumptions. Lewis said this is the character of the staff of the Fund for the Republic whose particular assignment is a "dispassionate appraisal" of the Loyalty-Security Program.

Referring back again to the annual report of the Fund, Lewis stated that in the same paragraph that Hutchins used to terrify the lady there is also mentioned the \$100,000 project by Adam Yarmolinsky who is doing a hand-picking compilation of 50 actual Loyalty-Security cases designed to show how mistreated the individual subjects were despite the fact that most of them were cleared.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 25, 1953

He said that another project of the Fund is the compilation of laws and regulations pertaining to Loyalty-Security matters.

Lewis said it was very convenient to have 15 million dollars to distribute such studies to the American public. He said if you write something on the ultraliberal side you will be able to get a big distribution from the Fund for the Republic but he doubts that they will make any grant for the distribution of his series of broadcasts concerning the Fund. He stated that we on the American side, however, have our ways too and then referred to the fact that he had mentioned the previous evening that his series of broadcasts concerning the Fund were to be bound in book form and could be obtained for one dollar which would cover the cost of printing and postage. He stated that in connection with this he had received a letter that morning from an individual in New York who stated that he recalled that on a previous broadcast Lewis had disclosed that the Fund was sending their report to a list of all Federal judges. This individual who wrote to Lewis, who was not identified other than coming from New York, offered to bear the expenses to have Lewis' book sent to all Federal judges. Lewis said he had called this gentleman telephonically in the afternoon and advised him that there were 312 Federal judges and this gentleman in turn advised Lewis that he would have a check just as soon as he could get it in the mail and instructed Lewis to send the book concerning his broadcasts to the entire list of Federal judges at his expense.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

October 27, 1955
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/89 BY 2580108

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
OCTOBER 27, 1955

Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted about nine minutes of his program to the Fund for the Republic. Following the resignation of Arthur H. Dean from the Fund, he stated that he had received the resignation of Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Director of the Arkansas Gazette, at Little Rock. The reason Ashmore gave for his resignation was that it would be impossible to maintain the affiliation with the Fund as long as he is working for Adlai Stevenson on the latter's preliminary political campaign.

Lewis said his office in Washington advised him of the receipt of one dollar in request for a copy of the printed transcripts of Lewis's radio talks concerning the Fund and this request was signed by "Fund for the Republic, [redacted]". He stated [redacted] does not appear on any Fund letterheads but that this one dollar he is going to frame.

Lewis then began talking about a project at the University of Minnesota, which he called incredible, and which he said he stumbled upon while in that area on a speaking engagement. He said his original information came from [redacted]

[redacted] According to Lewis, [redacted] himself investigated the project and contacted a faculty member, who advised him that the project was sponsored by the funds from the Ford Foundation. [redacted] then published an article on it entitled "Who Are the Lunatics?" Lewis said he himself contacted the faculty member, who admitted that the school had received funds from the Ford Foundation, but they were not being used on this particular project. Subsequently, however, Lewis obtained a letter from the Board of Regents of the University stating categorically that the project is being financed by funds from the Ford Foundation.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Nichols

Fund for the Republic, File 100-391697

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NOT RECORDED
176 NOV 7 1955

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This project at the University of Minnesota is not one of jury tapping like in Kansas, but rather is a sort of collective brain-washing, which [redacted] called it in his article. The University has what is called "A Laboratory for Research of Social Relations." This project comprised a questionnaire in the form of a pamphlet 22 pages long. The first five pages being questions about the individual being questioned, including age, marital status, religious preference, how often do you attend church - very often, often, fairly often, not very often, never or don't know. It then asks questions on public affairs and also questions concerning national leaders who included Nixon, Stevenson, McCarthy, Jenner, Henry Wallace, Warren, Kefauver, Inouye, Eisenhower. The person being questioned was asked to check whether he opposed, favored, strongly favored or had no opinion concerning these individuals. Other questions concerning these men were: which would you rather see become President in 1956; which has done the most for his country; which stands the best chance of being recorded in history; which would you rank with Lincoln and Washington in service to his country; and also asked would you work for your favorite if he were nominated by a major party or if he were nominated by a third party.

Another questionnaire views of current topics such as: communist party to be illegal, tariff reductions, income tax reductions, should the minimum wage law be increased to \$1.25 per hour, is the supreme courts decision in the schools a good one, are military expenditures high enough or too high, coexistence with Soviet Russia, should Red China be given Cuernavaca and Matsun.

Then on page 7 begins the main body of the questionnaire. There are 21 pages of questions and with each one there is the letter "a" and the letter "b" and you are instructed that if you agree with the question or statement circle "a" and if you disagree circle "b". Lewis said that in the many pages the same questions and topics were asked as many as six different times. He read a sample list of some of the questions contained in this section of the questionnaire. Some of the samples he read were as follows:

I get a kick out of fairs and carnivals and circuses.
There can never be real peace in the world as long as the profits system is still in control.
It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.

I do not really like the way some strangers will try to strike up a conversation with a person.
Let's face it, the only way to bring peace and order back to the world is to make America the one powerful nation on earth.

I very seldom do things impulsively on the spur of the moment.

On the whole our economic system is just and wise. As long as we have a system of private ownership, we will be in serious danger of losing our freedom. It is no use worrying my head about public affairs

because I cannot do anything about them anyhow. I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas. I think the government should give a person work if he cannot find another job.

I feel I am liked and accepted by most of my neighbors. I sometimes feel like a tiny cog in a huge machine. We need a strong central government to handle modern economic problems efficiently.

In Congress the best view wins out in the long run. The best kind of politician is one who is just like the rest of us.

There are too many bureaucrats in government. I believe in the second coming of Christ.

Workdays more and more people are prying into things that ought to remain personal and private.

You can depend on it that business will charge all the public can.

Lewis said it is interesting to note the explanation he got concerning the project when he contacted the University professor and the explanation another individual gave when she contacted the University for information concerning the project after she received the questionnaire. The explanation of the project, said Lewis, is that this is a project to study the thinking of the so-called conservative classes. The professor admitted to Lewis that this list of recipient of the questionnaires was made up of people who wrote "Letters to the Editor," and showed a conservative view, non-members of favorable groups in Minneapolis and St. Paul and residents of the wealthier section of the city. The professor told Lewis that it was noted that the questionnaires would give the faculty and staff an idea of the intellectual atmosphere of the areas from which these conservative individuals come so that the teaching classes of the university can be modeled to produce better thinking.

Lewis said there was high pressure in distributing these questionnaires in that they were initially sent out by mail and if not answered promptly the recipients were contacted by a personal representative of the project who encouraged them to cooperate. At the end of the questionnaire there was a place for the name and address of the person questioned and there was also a note that it is not absolutely necessary. This concluded Lewis's talk concerning the fund.

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen *BRM*

DATE: October 27, 1955

FROM : Mr. Stanley *OS*

SUBJECT: YARMOLINSKY SURVEY-FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Ladd _____
 Nichols _____
 Rosen _____
 Tracy _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

esa

Yarmolinsky's booklet containing case histories of fifty unidentified personnel security cases, published in August, 1955, has previously been reviewed by supervisors at the Seat of Government. Six of the cases were identified and memoranda submitted concerning them. Mr. Nichols' memoranda to Mr. Tolson dated October 25, and 26, 1955, reflect Tom Donegan furnished the identities of 28 of the cases in the booklet. Included in these were the six previously identified at the Bureau. The Director approved Mr. Nichols' suggestion that the Bureau's files on these cases be reviewed and memoranda submitted pointing out data not set forth in Yarmolinsky's booklet and data wherein Yarmolinsky's report is biased.

The Bureau files are being reviewed. It is noted, however, that Yarmolinsky's histories deal with the adjudication phase of these cases. He utilized data contained in the written charges to the employees, the employees' responses and the transcript of the hearings. This material will be in the files of the interested agencies but in most instances not in the Bureau files. Donegan has advised copies of memoranda from the agencies comparing these cases as the agencies know them with the Yarmolinsky report will be furnished the Bureau as soon as they are available. Accordingly, memoranda on these cases will be submitted promptly upon receipt of the agencies' write-ups concerning them.

Action:

For your information. This project will receive expeditious attention and memoranda submitted as soon as possible.

62-101860

DEC 1 1955
 Mr. Nichols - sent direct
 Mr. Belmont - sent direct

DEC 1 1955
 Mr. Nichols - sent direct
 Mr. Belmont - sent direct

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 52 NOV 4 1955

100-391697-
 NOT RECORDED
 176 NOV 2 1955

THE FILES ON ORIGINAL

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-22-89 BY 8888

62-101860-19 ORIGINAL FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *1/2/55*

DATE: October 22, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols *1/2/55*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

George Sokolsky, on the late afternoon of Thursday, October 20, 1955, called to confidentially inform me that he had just had a call from a [] who is a public relations man for the Ford Motor Company, and, in fact, is [] man in the Ford Motor Company. [] told Sokolsky that the former Dean of Harvard Business School, Dean David, had just been appointed as Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic for the purpose of liquidating the Fund for the Republic and returning their unexpended moneys to the Ford Foundation. Sokolsky stated he questioned this because he could not see how it could be done. [] has assured him that this was the plan and that announcements were to be made in the immediate future as to the program.

[] has further told Sokolsky the Ford Motor Company is in an uproar and that a large portion of the time of the officials is being devoted to the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation and they simply had to get back to making cars.

He further stated that within the past week, the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic had had three meetings.

There was some credence to be lent to this; the fact that Arthur Dean, we had heard, had resigned, and, likewise, on Monday night, October 17, Fulton Lewis had scheduled a dinner engagement with Elmo Roper and Mr. Harris which was canceled.

On the late afternoon of October 21, Sokolsky informed me that he had talked to [] further and that the account which he had gotten in the first instance was garbled; that what had happened was that Dean David had been appointed as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ford Foundation. He was going to devote his full time to this and the object of putting David in this position was to destroy the Fund for the Republic, knock out the jury inquiries of the University of Chicago and to carefully scrutinize the activities of the Ford Foundation and endeavor to rehabilitate it; that David was given

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 LBN:arm

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7/28/89 BY 0852573/af

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

authority over Roland Gaither, President of the Ford Foundation; that []
[] and others at the Ford Motor Company were optimistic in the hope
that David would find a way to curtail the activities of the Fund for the Republic.

Sokolsky stated that he told [] that this was just so much
windowdressing; that what was needed was action.

b6
b7C

Fulton Lewis informed me in the strictest of confidence on the
evening of October 20 that he had had a long talk with []
of Internal Revenue and [] had told him that the investigation presently
being made of the Fund for the Republic indicated that most assuredly the Fund
for the Republic would lose its tax-exempt status; that the Ford Foundation
cannot escape responsibility and that the Ford Foundation itself could likewise
lose its tax-exempt status. Fulton, on his program on the night of October 20,
used this information but did not attribute it to Internal Revenue, but reported
it as something that could happen.

Fulton is also having the pertinent portions of his broadcasts
printed in a booklet which he will advertise on his program for a dollar a copy.
He is hopeful that he can find some source that can help underwrite the cost of
printing it.

V
H.S.
V

10/20/55

A Fund for the Republic spokesman says that, "Browder is not an employee, a consultant, a staff member, a project member, a researcher or any other kind of employee or associate of this project or the Fund for the Republic. The project has paid Browder for his comments on events in which he is presumed to have taken a vital part..."

"The Rossiter project, as a scholarly and objective study, is required to track down every possible source of information pertinent to the project," said the Fund spokesman.

"This is the only way such a study can be conducted. At the same time, under no condition will Browder have anything to do with the results of the various studies, judgments or interpretations expressed nor the placement of so much as a comma.

"His comments will be accepted or rejected, in part or in whole, by those persons directing the study, on the basis of scholarly evaluation and comparison with the evidence supplied by others."

That's the Fund's position. I can show you a dozen statements issued by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and officials of the Justice Dept. wearily trying to make the same point above the din of criticism against their use of Browder's former followers.

There doesn't seem to be any objection anywhere to the use of Browder as an informant. There is anger in certain circles over Browder's refusal to talk to the government about events -- especially inside labor over the past 20 years -- while he is talking about the same subjects to members of the Fund's study group.

It is vital that Browder talk to the Government now. I have on my desk documents proving that small cells -- ranging from one to six men -- are being planted inside big unions and big plants.

I'll tell those stories soon enough. But sufficient now to report that the documents state bluntly that the time has come to "reactivate...older comrades...on the whole inactive now." The new Communist Party apparatus is on the move, using the older men as "cadres."

Who are these older comrades? For what have they been trained? How do they get their orders? Browder knows the answers.

If he is talking, then let him really talk where it will do some good. The only vital issue is the safety of this republic.

(Copyright 1955, The Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Young
T. Toby
ow (40-37)
ow (100-38) (597)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Internal Sec. Sect.
October 26, 1955
2 - orig. & dupli.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/89 BY [signature]

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated April 1, 1955, which reported that the Fund for the Republic had contacted Earl Browder to use his services as a consultant for the comprehensive history of American Communism which that organization is compiling.

In October 20, 1955, press release of The Hall Syndicate, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, captioned "Inside Labor," by Victor Riesel, points out that the FBI and the Department of Justice have been harassed by an outcry from certain quarters against the use of paid informers, especially against the use of ex-Communists, but there has been no similar outcry against the use by the Fund for the Republic of ex-Communist Earl Browder as an informer. Riesel also points out that it is the Fund's contention that under no condition will Browder have anything to do with the results of various studies, judgments, or interpretations expressed by the Fund but that his comments will be accepted or rejected by those persons directing the study on the basis of scholarly evaluation and comparison with the evidence supplied by others. Riesel notes that the Fund's position concerning the use of Browder is the same as that which the officials of the Department of Justice and this Bureau have tried to make above the din of criticism against our use of paid informers. Riesel criticizes Browder for acting as an informer for the Fund on the same subjects on which he refuses to furnish information to the Government.

For your information, there is transmitted herewith a Photostat of the aforementioned press release.

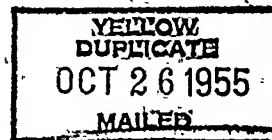
1 - Mr. William P. Rogers (with enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General (with enclosure)
William F. Tompkins

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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1955



ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 40-3174-740

Oct. 24, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/89 BY 203757J/ap

Gentlemen,

I am a member of the League of Women

Voters in Valash, Indiana. We are
currently studying the Freedom Agenda
program sponsored by the Fund for
the Republic. Recently there have
been articles and editorial in the
newspapers and magazine insinuating

Fund for the Republic

36
OCT 28 1955
37

the Fund for the Republic is
subversive (Saturday Evening Post,
Indianapolis Star, Chicago Tribune)

1 ENCLOSURE
Self addressed envelope

Last week Herb Philbrick spoke
in Swazee, Indiana. He is

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20 OCT 28 1955

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m. M. G. J.
CRIMINAL REC.

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HEH

quoted to have said "collected money
for the Fund for the Republic when
he was a 'communist'."

I would like very much to know
how you evaluate the Fund for the
Republic and the Freedom Agenda.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. Chas. L.) Esther Long

RR 2

Walash, Indiana

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FBI
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE

MR. JONES
9:54 AM '55
JUL 28 1955

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FBI
INTERNAL SECURITY SECT.

October 31, 1955

100-391691-251

RECORDED - 7

INDEXED - 7

Mrs. Charles E. Long
Route 2
Wabash, Indiana

aka, Esther Long

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/88 BY 8833 J/K

Dear Mrs. Long:

Your letter postmarked October 26, 1955,
with enclosure, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information
in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I
would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-
gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions
as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication
or individual.

I know that you will understand the reasons for these
rules and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either
that we do or that we do not have the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

COMM - FBI
OCT 31 1955
MAILED 30

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.
The Bureau is closely following the activities of the Ford Fund for
the Republic and the Freedom Agenda Committee. New York letter
of 9/19/55 advised that inquiry to that time had given no indication
of Communist domination or sponsorship of the Freedom Agenda
Committee. Herbert Philbrick is a former confidential informant
who has testified in Smith Act trials.

HEH:rcw
(31) 1955

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

BAUMGARDNER

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 101-416111-1
(Autostated)

The Attorney General

October 28, 1955

Director, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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DATE 7-27-89 BY 258571

By memorandum dated June 15, 1955, captioned as above, I furnished you a copy of a memorandum over the signature of W. H. Ferry, Vice President, Fund for the Republic, outlining the scope and methods of a case study of the operations of the Government Loyalty and Security Programs. Case histories were to be for the "confidential use" of the Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York with the exception of a limited number of cases specially prepared for outside distribution. I also furnished you a copy of a "General Outline for Case Histories" which was apparently designed as a guide in the collection of these case histories. (100-391697-113)

For your information, a reliable and very confidential source has made available a "Memorandum For Interviewers" dated February 11, 1955, presumably prepared by Adam Yarmolinsky, Consultant, who prepared the booklet, "Case Studies in Personnel Security." A Photostat of this memorandum is attached. We have also been confidentially advised that those engaged as so-called interviewers were attorneys who were paid at the rate of five dollars per hour while they were preparing the case write-ups. Additionally, Yarmolinsky is reported to have stated, "This study is intended primarily for use by a committee organized by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under a grant from the Fund, in order to make recommendations for changes in the operation of these programs. It consists of accounts of cases involving Government employees, industrial workers and merchant seamen, arising under the various Federal personnel security programs. These accounts are prepared from the files of lawyers who have advised or represented the employees and are written in such a way as to conceal the identity of the employee as nearly as possible. We are aiming at a compilation of some four hundred cases from various parts of the country to be completed by the end of May."

It appears that the Fund for the Republic has financed the Bar Association of the City of New York to make a survey. Then, the Fund for the Republic, through its own employee, Adam Yarmolinsky, obtained the case write-ups for presentation to the Bar Association of the City of

cc - Bureau file 100-391697
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - P. C. Young, Room 7631

GMP:rcw
(12)

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NOT RECORDED

NOV 1 1955

The Attorney General

October 28, 1955

New York upon which that Association will make its recommendations. It is, of course, not known how much credence the Bar Association of the City of New York will give to the Yarmolinsky study; however, it is evident that if their recommendations were to be based upon the data supplied by Yarmolinsky, it is obvious what conclusions would be reached upon data that was biased and one-sided.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

Mr. Nichols

October 31, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Fulton Lewis, Jr. Broadcast
October 31, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/27/89 BY SP8 BZJ/ag

On this date Fulton Lewis devoted 1 or 2 minutes to a discussion of the Ford Fund for the Republic. He stated that the bound volumes of his broadcasts which he is selling will include all of his broadcasts up to and including that of October 28, 1955. He stated that one [redacted] of Brooklyn, New York, sent a \$50 check to Lewis which is to be used to start a special fund to send these booklets to every member of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives. Lewis stated this was a good idea to get the booklets into the hands of the lawmakers of our Nation so they may know just what the story is concerning the Ford Fund and Foundation and what the Ford Foundation has been doing with its money (15 million dollars). Lewis stated this was important and unquestionably a proposal will be made for a deep and thorough Congressional investigation of the Ford Fund and Ford Foundation. He stated the [redacted] project will place information concerning the Ford Foundation, which Lewis has been able to secure, into the hands of those who will vote on this investigation proposal.

Lewis stated that tomorrow, November 1, 1955, he would go into the case of the "Slanted Bibliography" on the communist source literature which the Ford Fund has financed as a project of its own. Lewis stated that he thought this would be a "penetrating example of how these things are taken over with perfectly innocent and well-meaning people put out in front for prestige, but are handled by a very specific staff director who has his own ideas."

Lewis devoted a few minutes to the visit of Castillo Armas, President of Guatemala, to the United States. He stated that Guatemala City was only five hours by Pan American Airlines from New Orleans or Miami, that Armas with an Army of about 200 men overthrew the Communist Government of Guatemala. Lewis stated that he, in June, 1955, conducted the first interview with Armas in English and at that time suggested that Armas visit the United States.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic, File 100-392397

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 31, 1955

Lewis devoted a few moments to the proposals made by Secretary Dulles at the Geneva Conference. He expressed his belief that these proposals would be rejected by Russia. He stated that some of these proposals were the freedom of travel of individuals and airplanes between the United States and Russia and an exchange of films and books.

According to Lewis, Senator Knowland stated on October 31, that while he hoped that President Eisenhower would seek re-election in 1956, he thought that the President should announce his intention before the 1956 Republican Convention convened so as to avoid turmoil and confusion at the Convention.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

October 28, 1955

100-391637-6

Professor John F. Budway
Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Long Island Division
St. John's University
Grand Central Parkway and
Utopia Parkway
Jamaica 32, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/99 BY 080513 af

Dear Professor Budway:

Your letter postmarked October 25, 1955, has been received, and it was indeed a pleasure to hear from you at this time.

Although I would like to be of service, information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

I know that you will understand the reasons for these rules and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have the information you desire.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

2 cc's - New York, with two copies of incoming. (100-126045)
Reurlet 9-19-55

ATTENTION SAC: You may desire to contact Professor Budway to obtain the literature mentioned.

NOTE: (See next page)

HEH:jfm
(5)

63 NOV 7 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-41611-14

Letter to Professor John F. Budway

October 28, 1955

NOTE:

Bufiles contain no record identifiable with Budway. New York letter of 9-19-55 advised that a review of files of the New York Office and contact with established confidential informants and sources failed to disclose information which would indicate that the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Incorporated, or the Freedom Agenda Program sponsored by this memorial fund are utilizing funds for subversive purposes or to found Communist causes. It is a pending case. The Bureau is closely following the activities of the Fund for the Republic. The League of Women Voters has never been investigated by the Bureau. Handling per call to Domestic Intelligence Division.

St. John's University

LONG ISLAND DIVISION

GRAND CENTRAL PARKWAY AND UTOPIA PARKWAY
JAMAICA 32, NEW YORK

EVENING SESSION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/27/89 BY 208373/af

Oct. 16, 1955

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Honorable and Dear Sir

Greetings from the recently elected National Executive Secretary of Zeta Sigma Pi, National Social Science Fraternity, of which you have been Honorary National President for the past twenty years or so. I am also Faculty Advisor of the Omega Chapter of the Fraternity at St. John's College, recently moved to the new Long Island Campus of the University.

However the purpose of this letter is in no way connected with the fraternity. The writer is in possession of a group of pamphlets published by the Freedom Agenda Committee of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund Inc., a "research and educational" fund created by the League of Women Voters of the U.S. I understand that the Freedom Agenda Program is made possible by a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

The names of the authors and the titles of the pamphlets are:
T.V. Smith: THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND OUR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
Alfred H. Kelly: WHERE CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY CAME FROM
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS
Jack Peltason: CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY AND SEDITIONARY ACTIVITY
Alan Westin: THE CONSTITUTION AND LOYALTY PROGRAMS
Robert K. Carr: THE CONSTITUTION AND CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES

Perhaps your office would have some information of value to me on this Freedom Agenda Program and any hidden motives of the sponsors. I am particularly interested in the "purposes" of the Fund and known loyalties of the writers of the pamphlets.

Whatever data on this above you and your office are able to furnish will be most gratefully appreciated.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

Prof. John F. Budway,
Chairman, Dept of Soc. Sciences

JFB/ab

10-27-55

Letter to J. Edgar Hoover

John F. Budway

4/16/60

601 26 1955

100-8-55
HEH

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 24, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-89 BY 208207

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Belmont	_____
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Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Tom Donegan informed me that on Friday night, 10-21-55, Thompsons, accompanied by Walt Yeagley and Donegan, met with the Committee of the Bar Association of New York considering the security program under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. Donegan has become fairly well acquainted with the chairman of the committee, Bonsal, and, of course, he was a close personal friend of Harold Kennedy. Donegan states that he anticipates no trouble.

The committee is acting independently, they have had various groups in, and the questioning Friday night was quite sharp. One of the members of the committee raised the question why there was a need for a security program when the head of each agency should fire anyone he desires. Donegan pointed out there needs to be uniformity and that it is not possible to fire anyone the head of an agency desires. Another member of the committee asked why there was a need for a security program in the Government since there was the FBI. Donegan referred to the Maclean-Burgess case and stated espionage should be prevented rather than locking the door after the horse was stolen.

Donegan was very much impressed with Whitney Seymour who is very fair in his comments. Donegan got the impression that this committee is not going to be influenced by Yarmolinsky.

I think I should advise Donegan in confidence of our information pertaining to Yarmolinsky's claim that is certain to be presented to the Bar Association and would be the basis for their recommendations. I would go so far as to give Donegan a copy of the memorandum which Yarmolinsky has set out. This might have the effect of cauterizing Yarmolinsky.

Donegan states that he can talk to Bonsal and also talk to Harold Kennedy.

LBN:gjm

(4)

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

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- 2 - Original and copy
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- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

November 2, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP8 SJJ/ag*

ON *7-27-89*

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Enclosed are Copies No. 2 and No. 3 of the monograph *44-1* on The Fund for the Republic, Inc., which was created by a grant of the Ford Foundation. In line with our recent conversation regarding the Fund, you may desire to send a copy of this monograph to the Honorable George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury.

JK
Enclosures (2)

MAILED 2

NOV 3 1955

COMM - FBI

C.I.R.

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General
(With Enclosure, Copy No. 4)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III
(With Enclosure, Copy No. 5)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins
(With Enclosure, Copy No. 6)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
[Redacted]
(With Enclosure, Copy No. 7)

R/S
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Boardman _____
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Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

RSG:mjh
(10)

Memo W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated 11/2/55. RSG:mjh

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

- Classification per OGA Letter dated 6/20/2011. Pg 111 only

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

~~Classified by *M. J. Murray*
Declassify on: OADR *8/23/89*~~

November 1955

FOI/PA # *279639, 279658*
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. # *12556*
DATE *7-23-89* ATTORNEY

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

WCS/RWS:nar/mjh
(5) *WCS*
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Nichols _____
Belmont _____
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Parsons _____
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Tamm _____ 1 - Mr. Belmont
Sizoo _____ 1 - Section tickler
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
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ENCLOSURE

Based on memorandum from *WCS*
dated 10/25/55 re captioned
matter. WCS:mjh

ENCE. 100-301697-254

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ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450
OR CITED BY CONGRESSIONAL OR STATE COMMITTEES

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INTRODUCTION

In view of the widespread public interest in the program of The Fund for the Republic, created by a \$15,000,000 grant of the Ford Foundation, an effort has been made to compile available data for ready reference.

The public controversy which has arisen over the disclosure of activities of The Fund for the Republic centers around two major issues:

1. Whether The Fund for the Republic has misused its tax-exempt privileges;
2. Whether the projects of The Fund for the Republic weaken internal security by giving a false account of the menace of Communism.

Determination of the answer to the first issue is within the sphere of responsibility of the Internal Revenue Service, while the answer to the second issue is one of evaluation beyond the purview of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In order to have, ^a ~~in one place~~ of ready reference, available information has been compiled in this monograph. It should be remembered that the FBI has not investigated The Fund for the Republic and hence cannot vouch for the accuracy of allegations contained herein which have not been

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verified. Where available, documentation is set forth from sources of public record.

Where classified data is available in FDI files, it likewise is set forth.

It should be emphasized that this data has been compiled for high-level official convenience as an aid to evaluating the public controversy which centers around The Fund for the Republic.

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BACKGROUND

Public Comment

"The Communist cause in America has had a lucky break."

These are the words of the editor of U. S. News and World Report, the nationally known correspondent, David Lawrence, in referring to The Fund for the Republic.

In considering the effect of the Fund, Lawrence points out these discordant features:

1. The \$15,000,000 for the creation of the Fund was originally derived from the free-enterprise system through the diligent and inventive efforts of the late Henry Ford.
2. This money was being used to help persuade the people of the United States that Communist activity in America has been insignificant and unimportant.
3. Yet, one of the main objectives of Communism is to destroy this system which provided the \$15,000,000.

As an additional interesting factor, Mr. Lawrence stated that:

"To be able to mobilize \$15,000,000 to carry on a political propaganda and to put it in a fund which is exempt from paying income taxes is quite an achievement for any cause however well intentioned...."

Charlotte (N. C.) Observer,
August 31, 1955

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PART I

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Another nationally known columnist, George Sokolsky, made a public appraisal of the Fund at a much earlier date. On March 9, 1953, Mr. Sokolsky reported that the Fund was undertaking an enterprise which required scrutiny because of the nature of the institution and its entrance into political activity.

Times-Herald (Washington, D. C.),
March 9, 1953

Under the date line of September 16, 1955, Washington correspondent John Kelso reported a mounting public demand that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee launch a full-scale probe of The Fund for the Republic.

Boston Post,
September 17, 1955

The Fund for the Republic has been the subject of public and critical inspection by other persons and organizations in the United States including both public figures, newspaper and radio people, and significantly The American Legion. The Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio broadcast of September 12, 1955, supplied the views of Mr. Seaborn P. Collins, then National Commander of The American Legion. In regard to the Fund, the following comments were attributed to Mr. Collins:

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The Fund is trying to propagandize Americans into believing that

1. Communism never has been and is not now a serious danger in this country.
2. Sinister forces under the pretext of fighting Communism are the real danger and threaten the civil liberties of all America.
3. Security measures are un-American and are being used to harass and persecute innocent people.
4. Intelligent and educated people are aware of these things but are opposed by the ignorant who are being misled by evil demagogues.

(100-385355-37; 94-4-2189-194)
The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),
October 4, 1955
Newark (N. J.) Star Ledger,
October 4, 1955

Other analyses, and criticisms of the activities of The Fund for the Republic will be considered in the following pages in light of the Fund's policies, objectives, leadership, personnel, plans, products and related activities.

ORIGIN

The official report of The Fund for the Republic states that it was authorized by the trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and a million dollars appropriated for it at that time. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated \$14, 000, 000 additional for the Fund

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and it assumed a "completely independent status."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 9-10

LOCATION

New York and California

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has two offices, one being at 60 East Forty-second Street, New York City; the other at 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 6

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

The official report of the Fund dated May 31, 1955, includes material regarding the proclaimed policies and objectives of the Fund. These are being stated briefly with the more obvious related factors to assist the reader in appraising the nature of the Fund and its activity.

Duration and Expenditures

The Fund states that it was established to deal with problems which exist today, spending its principal as fast as can be judiciously

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done, and not engaging in long-range research.

It may be pertinent to balance these claims with the May 31, 1955, financial report of the Fund. This report disclosed that since its incorporation in December, 1952, the Fund had spent but a small portion of its total assets. Of the original \$15,000,000, (plus interest on investments), the Fund had total assets of \$12,877,748. Against this, the Fund had liabilities of accounts payable of \$3,410, leaving a balance of \$12,869,332. In addition, the Fund was contingently liable for \$317,500, payable upon fulfillment of certain conditions.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 32

Tax Exemption

On January 20, 1954, the Treasury Department ruled that The Fund for the Republic was exempt from income taxation under section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939).

Hearings, Special Committee to
Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations
and Comparable Organizations,
83rd Congress, Part II, p

Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939) grants an exemption to:

"Corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation,

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organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation."

23 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1950) 101 (6)

Also see 23 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1954) 501 (C) (3).

Fund Objective

The Fund briefly states that its objective is to advance understanding of civil liberties.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 10, 22

This stated objective has been scrutinized and the ability or intention of the Fund to fully carry out its objective has been questioned by the press, radio and members of Congress.

The members of the board of directors of the Fund signed a press release dated September 28, 1955, in which they reaffirmed their faith in its purposes and stated that the Fund hoped to make a contribution to the better understanding of effective procedures for dealing with the Communist menace while at the same time strengthening the American tradition of liberty and freedom.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Neutrality

The Fund claims a neutrality in that it takes no position on matters relating to guilt by association, the conduct of congressional investigations and administrative hearings, the suppression of "conscientious non-conformity," or other such issues beyond affirming its faith in the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Simultaneously, it reports such positive positions as:

"The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association."

"The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 11-12

The Fund does believe, according to its report, that the American people must take a position and the Fund will help supply the requisite information to keep them informed.

A report of a congressional committee doubted the neutrality of the Fund. According to this report, the publicly expressed opinions of Fund leadership on subject matters within the scope of activity of the Fund are too well known to permit the conclusion that the public was to be assured of an objective study.

Tax-Exempt Foundations-Report of the Special
Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Founda-
tions and Comparable Organizations, House
of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress
Second Session on H. Res. 217, December 10,
1954

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It can readily be seen that with \$15,000,000 for educational purposes the Fund could be an instrument for great public service if its projects were impartially and judiciously presented. On the other hand, if the Fund seeks to establish preconceived views by some of its leaders it could become a divisive and disruptive force of great moment.

Independence from the Ford Foundation

According to the Fund's May 31, 1955, report, the Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve the policies of the Fund and the Foundation has not sought to exert influence over the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 10

This independence from the Ford Foundation has been the subject of public comment. As one columnist, George Sokolsky, stated

"...it is impossible to believe that the Ford Foundation, which provided the enormous sum of \$15 million for the Fund, has absolutely nothing to say about it. It may be the truth, but it is not reasonable..."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 11, 1955

Fund Responsibility

Among the material that has been distributed by the Fund was

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an article, "The Kept Witnesses" by Richard H. Rovers, appearing in the May, 1955, issue of Harper's Magazine. In response to a newspaper reporter's inquiry as to whether the Fund could vouch for the accuracy of the article, the spokesman for the Fund was quoted as saying, "We don't vouch for anything."

In the "Editor's Opinion" column of a Newark, New Jersey, newspaper dated October 4, 1955, a reaction to this view appeared:

"It seems to us that this is highly irresponsible behavior for an organization which claims to be seeking the truth."

Newark Star Ledger,
October 4, 1955

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PART II

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADERSHIP

Paul G. Hoffman, Original Head of the Fund

In February, 1953, Hoffman retired as president of the Ford Foundation and was elected chairman of the board of directors of The Fund for the Republic, in which capacity he still serves. He is chairman of the board of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, Los Angeles, California.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 5;
The New York Times,
February 23, 1953

Hoffman has been described as "displaying complete naivete in recognition of the Communist menace in the United States" by Alfred M. Kohlberg, chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism, New York City. Kohlberg said he first knew Hoffman in 1941-42 when Hoffman was raising funds for the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, United China Relief and other organizations. (77-58760-63)

From 1943 until 1949, Hoffman was a member of the board of trustees of the American Council, Institute of Public Relations (IPR).^{*} Hoffman contributed \$100 annually to the IPR from 1943 through 1947 and was reported to be fairly active in getting others to contribute to IPR.

(77-58760-63)

^{*}See Appendix for citation.

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- 10 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In February, 1949, Hoffman, then administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), urged Congress to eliminate provisions in the Government's loyalty program which required certification that no ECA employees had formerly been members of any organizations cited by the Attorney General. Hoffman termed such certification "silly" and "unsound," as with barred employment of "very good people." The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, declined to relax the loyalty requirements in the operation of the European Recovery Program.

The New York Times,
March 2, 1949

Clifford P. Case, First President of the Fund

In May, 1953, Case, then a Congressman from New Jersey, was elected president and a director of The Fund for the Republic. He relinquished his congressional seat and took office in August, 1953. In April, 1954, Case resigned as president when he announced his candidacy for United States Senator.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 105
The New York Times, May 27, 1953;
March 8, 1954

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Robert M. Hutchins, Current President of the Fund

In June, 1954, Hutchins succeeded Case as president of The Fund for the Republic. Hutchins had served as president and as chancellor of the University of Chicago until 1951 when he joined the Ford Foundation as an associate director. He resigned the latter post on becoming president of the Fund. He is also a member of the board of directors of the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 10;
The New York Times, May 25, 1954

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on August 29, 1955, asserted that since Hutchins has primary responsibility for and practical control of allocation of the Fund's money, his views and policies are necessarily reflected in this distribution. (94-4-2189-184)

In April, 1949, Hutchins testified before the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, then investigating alleged Communist activities at the University of Chicago. He testified that he knew nothing about the Communist Party except what he had read; that he was not satisfied that the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions* was a Communist front organization even though it had been cited as such by the

*See Appendix for citation.

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House Committee on Un-American Activities; that he did not consider the Communist Party in the United States to constitute a clear and present danger to the internal security of the country; and that he did not favor the enactment of legislation which would illegalize the Party.

Hutchins was questioned about [] former professor of economics at the University of Chicago. [] had come to the United States in the 1930's, become a naturalized citizen but, following World War II, renounced his American citizenship to resume Polish citizenship, later serving as Poland's representative to the United Nations. Hutchins testified that [] was officially listed as on leave of absence from the University; that he was not acquainted with []'s present views but if []'s views were what they were when he went on his leave of absence, he would be welcomed back.

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b7C

Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation
Commission. Report of Proceedings.
Investigation of University of Chicago and
Roosevelt College. 1949 pp. 19, 25, 27,
38, 39, 45, 48. (62-85293-9)

In commenting on the Mundt-Nixon bill, some sections of which were later incorporated into the Internal Security Act of 1950, Hutchins, in April, 1950, characterized it as "foolish, stupid, and dangerous" and expressed the hope that Congress would defeat the measure.

Daily People's World, * April 17, 1950

* A west coast Communist newspaper

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Hutchins was invited, but declined an invitation tendered by to attend the Soviet-sponsored World Economic Conference held in Moscow in 1951. b6
b7C

The New York Times, December 27, 1951

Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, * Hutchins was quoted as saying that the majority decision "indicates that we are at last up against a crisis in this country." He said that "it may now become more difficult for us to take some of the positions we have in the past," adding that "We may even have to decide whether we must violate the law in order to remain in conformity with our convictions."

Daily Worker,**June 25, 1951

In July, 1952, Hutchins expressed opposition to the universal military training program in the United States, claiming that no other nation would believe that this country had to have such training to protect it from attack; therefore, the nation must want such military training in order to attack somebody else.

Pamphlet distributed by National Council
Against Conscription (100-16842-115, p. 3)

*Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2385 (1948 Edition), popularly known as the Smith Act, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence. The Act was passed by Congress in 1940. Eighty-eight Communist leaders have been tried and convicted under this Act since 1949; 97 have been indicted and are awaiting trial.

**An east coast Communist newspaper.

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In December, 1952, he denounced the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, protesting the "spread of censorship." In June, 1953, he branded the California State Senate Investigating Committee on Education as "subversive and un-American" and urged its repudiation, stating that "never before... has an official agency explicitly attacked freedom of thought and freedom of speech" as the Committee had done.

Daily People's World, December 15, 1952;
The Washington Post, June 12, 1953

In December, 1953, Hutchins delivered a lecture in Beverly Hills, California, in which he characterized congressional committees investigating Communists and Fascists as being run by a bunch of "characters"; declared that he did not believe in any kind of loyalty oath for school teachers and professors and regarded such measures as "nothing more than threats and intimidation against one's character"; denounced Cardinal Spellman's speech in Europe a month earlier in which the churchman said that no one in America was being hurt by Congressional investigations; advocated the admission of Communist China to the United Nations; and contended that Attorney General Brownell's views on wire-tapping and proposed changes in the Fifth Amendment were in direct violation of the Constitution.

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In this lecture, Hutchins said: "Today we are cursed by a tremendous glorification of the FBI. The only people we will believe are confessed spies and traitors...."

As for outlawing the Communist Party, Hutchins contended that he would take the opposite course and remove all limitations upon Communists. "I would catch and punish criminals," he said. "I would not condemn a man because he belonged to an organization. The Communist Party may be in the hands of the Kremlin but it does not follow that everyone in the Communist Party is a part of a conspiracy."

"I don't believe that spying accelerated by thirty days the development of the atomic bomb in Russia," he said. "All the theoretical material on the release of atomic energy was published in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' in 1936." OIC
on 1/1/54

He stated further in this speech: "I do not feel that the Communist party is as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist party, he is dangerous. This is not true.

"For example, in the state of Washington, most of the professors at the state university, when under investigation, proved to be some of the weakest and most sheepish men I have ever heard of."

Southern California Daily Trojan,
December 3, 1953;
Daily People's World, December 9, 1953

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A press release indicated that a bound volume of scrolls would be presented to Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner, at a testimonial dinner to be held in his honor on February 12, 1955, under auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee. The scrolls praised Dr. Urey for his contributions as a citizen, and for his protests in the Rosenberg and Sobell cases. Hutchins was listed among the signers of the scrolls. (100-387835-1099, p. 7)

The Chicago Sobell Committee is an offshoot of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which was formed in January, 1952, to raise funds for the defense of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted, together with Morton Sobell, in March, 1951, of conspiracy to commit espionage. The Rosenbergs were executed; Sobell is now serving a thirty-year prison sentence. (100-417381)

In a speech in April, 1955, Hutchins declared that he had recently attended a dinner of senior faculty members of the University of Birmingham in England. "I sat across the table from a professor who was a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain," he said. "The British appear to be getting value out of a scholar whom none of the great American universities could appoint."

Daily Worker, April 4, 1955

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On September 11, 1955, Seaborn P. Collins, National Commander of The American Legion, called on all members to "have no truck" with activities sponsored by The Fund for the Republic because it appears that the Fund is "threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security." Collins accused the Fund of "constant, loaded criticism of congressional and Administration efforts to resist Communist infiltration."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 12, 1955

On September 15, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund, which included Hutchins, issued a reply to Collins' criticism. The statement said, among other things, that from "the beginning the Board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of communism and communist influence in this country." The sentiment expressed in this portion of the statement, however, is in marked variance with the public statements made by Hutchins in which he has minimized the threat of Communism in the United States.

Press Release of The Fund for the
Republic, September 15, 1955

In an address on October 7, 1955, Hutchins stated that he could only conclude that those who fear impartial investigation of the loyalty-security programs are afraid of the truth. He said: "The positions they have taken and the reputations they have built are interwoven with those programs."

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Such people do not want the system looked into, because they fear it may be found defective, and their attitudes and reputations may appear defective, too."

The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),
October 8, 1955

A number of statements made by Hutchins on national issues have been published and distributed by Communist front organizations. Some examples of this have been the distribution in May, 1950, by the Philadelphia Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill* of his statement against the Mundt-Nixon bill; and the playing at a meeting of a Communist front group in 1954 of a tape recording of one of the speeches made by Hutchins criticizing the Dilworth Law, which required loyalty oaths from California teachers. (100-361924-32, p. 19; 100-408404-4, p. 10)

Hallock Hoffman, Assistant to the President**

Hoffman expressed himself as opposing loyalty oath propositions on the ballot in California in August, 1953. In an advertisement,

*See Appendix for citation.

**Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

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which was in the nature of an open letter to State Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, Hoffman complained because his name was not included among those cited as opposed to loyalty oaths. "Such laws are the instruments of dictatorship," he said, and always are "used to enforce conformity and broadcast fear." Hoffman protested because the Dilworth Committee on Education had not listed the many thousands of citizens who opposed the non-disloyalty oaths."

Daily People's World, August 4, 1953

A press release reflected that Hoffman was one of the signers of a bound volume of scrolls which was to be presented to Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner, at a testimonial dinner to be held in his honor on February 12, 1955, under auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee. The scrolls praised Dr. Urey for his contributions as a citizen, and his protests in the Rosenberg and Sobell case. (100-387835-1099, p. 8)

Wilbur H. Ferry, Vice-President*

Ferry was appointed chief of press relations for the CIO Political Action Committee in June, 1944. According to a 1944 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, immediately prior to the setting up of the CIO Political Action Committee, the leaders of the Communist Party were

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

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agitating for the establishment of just such an agency as was created by the CIO executive board in July, 1943. The report said that the CIO executive board which established the Political Action Committee was composed of 49 members, among whom there were at least 18 whose records indicated that they followed the "line" of the Communist Party with undeviating loyalty; and a majority of the international unions affiliated with the CIO had an entrenched Communist leadership.

The CIO News, June 19, 1944;
U. S. Congress, House. Special
Committee on Un-American Activities.
Report on the CIO Political Action
Committee. House Report 1311.
78th Congress, 2nd Session.
(Washington: Government Printing
Office, 1944)

During 1944-1945, Ferry was reported to be friendly with the national officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC). * In early 1945, he was also reported to be a member of a group of publicity men who assisted JAFRC officials in a national fund-raising campaign.

(100-7061-852, 923, pp. 15, 18)

Amos Landman, now engaged in part-time public relations work for the Fund, declined in 1954 to answer questions before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security concerning his alleged former membership in the Communist Party. Ferry was quoted early in October, 1955, as saying that

* See Appendix for citation.

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Landman's refusal to testify to his past activities "did not appear to the officers (of the Fund) sufficient reason to bar him from temporary employment."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 14, 1955

Other officers are:

David F. Freeman, Secretary and Treasurer*

Winifred G. Meckus, Assistant Secretary*

Thomas J. Gardner, Assistant Treasurer*

Bothuel M. Webster, Counsel.*

Amos Landman, Staff Member**

The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on June 30, 1955, stated that Amos Landman had subscribed to an affidavit sworn to before a State Department consular officer on September 15, 1938, which reads as follows: "I became a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938. I am not sure. It will be recalled that this was the time of the great Depression, a time when many of us were looking desperately for solutions to the problems

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

**Source: The Washington Post and Times Herald, October 14, 1955.

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then confronting the United States and the world." This was at the time he was in India making a study of mass media as a result of a grant from the Ford Foundation. When asked by the Subcommittee whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, Landman invoked the Fifth Amendment.

U. S. Congress, Senate. Subcommittee
on Internal Security of the Committee
on the Judiciary.
Report of Proceedings in Communist
Newspaper Cells, June 30, 1955
(62-98217-1741)

In the early 1940's, Landman was reported to be among the Communist leadership of the Newspaper Guild. * (62-98217-1, 4)

Winston M. Burdett, Columbia Broadcasting System

correspondent, admitted his previous membership in the Communist Party in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on June 29, 1955. Burdett declared that Landman had been a Communist subsequent to 1937 and prior to 1942.

The New York Times, June 30, 1955

On July 27, 1955, Landman began temporary employment with the Fund in a public relations capacity.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 14, 1955

*American Newspaper Guild--CIO--

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Joseph P. Lyford, Staff Member*

The Boston Globe for January 15, 1941, reported that a group of Harvard undergraduates was organizing a large delegation to join the American Youth Congress** in a "Peace Pilgrimage" to Washington, D. C., on February 7-9, 1941. Joseph P. Lyford was listed among those prominent in the group. (123-8080-16)

The Harvard Progressive for April, 1941, listed Lyford as its editor. It was the official publication of the Harvard Student Union, a chapter of the American Student Union. ** (123-8080-16)

Adam Yarmolinsky, Staff Member***

Yarmolinsky's father, Avrahm, was a member of the board of directors of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union** in 1936.
(123-2631-13)

Another Government agency in 1954 reported that Yarmolinsky's mother, Babetto Deutsch, was at one time a contributor to New Masses. **

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

**See Appendix for citation.

***Source: New York Herald Tribune, October 10, 1955.

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The same agency reported that Babette Deutsch had participated in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy* and that she and Yarmolinsky's father had signed petitions sponsored by the John Reed Club.* (140-7116-1, encl, pp. 1, 6)

In December, 1944, Yarmolinsky, in applying for a position with the Federal Government, made the statement that he had resigned from the Harvard Student Union* in 1940 when he discovered it was Communist-dominated and that he attended the American Youth Congress* in June or July, 1941, as a hostile observer. (140-7116-1)

Yarmolinsky was the editor of Case Studies in Personnel Security, which was written as a result of a project financed by The Fund for the Republic.

Edward Reed is another staff member.**

Robert E. Cushman, Consultant**

A letter dated December 19, 1941, addressed to the Governor of Oklahoma from the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom*

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* See Appendix for citation.

** Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 6, 36.

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contained the signatures of individuals who protested the criminal syndicalism cases involving Communists in Oklahoma. Among the signatures was that of Cushman. (100-22712-18)

In speeches and in writings since 1940, Cushman has been critical of congressional investigating committees and the loyalty-security program.

Missouri Bar Journal, October, 1940;
Public Administration Review, Autumn, 1943;
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March, 1949
(94-1-21057-8; 94-4-5366; 12 X 4;
199-350064-34; 62-74616-10)

During June, 1953, Cushman was reported to be the recipient of the Lawyers' Guild Review, quarterly publication of the National Lawyers' Guild.* (100-7321-962)

Elmer H. Davis, Consultant**

Davis was president of the Authors' League of America (ALA) in 1939-1941. A governmental agency conducting personnel and security-type investigations has reported that the ALA was Communist-infiltrated and that some of its members were known to belong to the Communist Party. (123-3127-19)

In his book, But We Were Born Free, published in 1953, Davis criticized congressional investigating committees.

Elmer Davis, But We Were Born Free.
(Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953)

*See Appendix for citation.

**Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.)

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Frank S. Loescher, Consultant*

A letter dated December 19, 1941, of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom** to the Governor of Oklahoma, protested the prosecution of Communist Party members who were tried in the State Criminal Syndicalism trials in Oklahoma City. The letter contained signatures of individuals sponsoring the letter. Among the signatures appeared the name of Frank Loescher. - (100-22712-18)

In July, 1948, Loescher was among the members of the coordinating committee of the organization known as the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation. This organization was formed to induce persons subject to selective service to refuse to register unless racial discrimination and segregation in the armed forces were barred. (100-355610-17)

Walter Millis, Consultant*

Millis is a former editorial writer and columnist for the New York Herald Tribune.

He was a member of the board of trustees of the Hawaiian group of the Institute of Pacific Relations** in 1935-1936 and a member of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1937 and 1938.

(100-64700-364, p. 32; 271, p. 1709, 2822; 1004, p. 17; 12115, p. 101; 1224,

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36. p. 1222)

** See Appendix for citation.

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In the Fall of 1955, Millis denounced the Federal security system in a radio broadcast and in a magazine article.

Daily Worker, September 13, 1955;
Article from The Saturday Review reprinted in
St. Louis Post Dispatch, September 20, 1955

Millis was scheduled to be one of the speakers at a national conference in New York City on October 15, 1955, dealing with "Loyalty-Security and the Laws," under auspices of the National Lawyers' Guild. *

Daily Worker, October 11, 1955

Benjamin D. Segal, Consultant**

Segal was described in 1946 by another Government intelligence agency as a former organizer for the Socialist Party. (100-7660-3793)

In 1951, Segal was a member of the National Religious and Labor Foundation (NRLF). The NRLF was founded in 1932 by Jerome Davis, then a professor at Yale, who was described by a former high-ranking Communist Party official as a member of the Communist Party during the 1930's. Davis was succeeded as executive secretary of the NRLF in 1933 by Willard Uphaus, who has been described as a Communist sympathizer and pro-Russian. (100-168327-9)

*See Appendix for citation.

**Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

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Other consultants are Howard L. Chernoff* and George Overton.*

George N. Shuster, Vice-Chairman of Board of Directors*

He is president of Hunter College, New York City.

Harry S. Ashmore, Member of Board of Directors*

He is executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, Arkansas. It was alleged in November, 1953, that editorials in the Arkansas Gazette frequently attacked congressional security investigations and that articles in the paper were critical of Government investigating agencies.

It is not known how much time Ashmore will devote to The Fund for the Republic inasmuch as he took leave of absence from his paper in October, 1955, to serve as an assistant to Adlai Stevenson for the publicly announced purpose of helping to formulate the issues for the 1956 presidential campaign.

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 5, 36.

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Chester Bowles, Member of Board of Directors*

He is a former Governor of Connecticut. In 1946, it was reported that Chester Bowles had recently become affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. **

PM for November 13, 1947, quoted Bowles as having stated the Communists could never be a national threat to American democracy if liberal, economic and social reforms were carried out. According to PM, Bowles condemned what he called the "obsession with American Communism."

Arthur H. Dean, Member of Board of Directors***

He is an attorney in New York City.

Dean was a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)** from 1939 to 1953. From 1946 to 1950 he served as a member of the board of trustees and as a vice-chairman of the American Council of the IPR. In

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

**See Appendix for citation.

***The Washington Post and Times Herald issue of October 27, 1955, reflected that Arthur Dean resigned from the board of directors.

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1952, he resigned as international chairman of the IPR. During the period 1939 to December, 1951, he contributed over \$8,000 to the IPR.

(77-57214-29)

Erwin N. Griswold, Member of Board of Directors*

He is dean of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In April, 1948, 45 law school teachers appealed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities to grant a fair trial to Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, whom the committee had accused of being a "weak link" in the Nation's atomic security. These teachers made known their request in a letter addressed to the chairman of the committee which was made public by the American Civil Liberties Union. Griswold was one of the signers of this letter.

New York Herald Tribune, April 10, 1948

The Boston Herald for March 5, 1951, contained an article indicating that Harvard University had been urged by Samuel P. Sears, president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, to stop "encouraging and playing host to the Communist Party." According to the article, Sears directed a letter to Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, protesting the University's attitude of tolerance toward enemies of the Nation and demanded the dissolution

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

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of the Harvard Lawyers' Guild, an affiliate of the National Lawyers' Guild.*

On March 6, 1951, the Boston Herald carried an article in which Griswold answered Sears' letter. Griswold said that the Harvard Law School would take no action toward suppressing the Harvard Lawyers' Guild. Griswold concluded by saying he felt it would be improper to interfere with the legitimate freedom of Harvard students to take any action towards suppressing the activities of the Harvard Lawyers' Guild.

In his column on July 14, 1955, George E. Sokolsky stated that it had been suggested that Griswold be appointed as chairman of a committee to study the Government's security system. According to Sokolsky, Griswold's book on the Fifth Amendment established him as more concerned with the private economics and fears of those who erred than with the security of his country. Sokolsky stated, "It would be as incorrect to appoint such a man as Dean Griswold to head a fact-finding commission because of his prejudice as it would be to appoint, let us say, Gerald L. K. Smith on the other side of the fence. What is required of such a commission is objectivity, not prejudgment often based on bias."

New York Journal-American,
July 14, 1955

*See Appendix for citation.

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In his book, The Fifth Amendment Today, Griswold was extremely critical of congressional committees investigating Communists.

Erwin N. Griswold, The Fifth Amendment Today, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955)

The New York Times on August 25, 1955, reported that Griswold and Tracy E. Griffin, of Seattle, Washington, a member of a special committee of the American Bar Association to study Communist tactics, strategy and objectives, debated on the subject of "Lawyers and the Fifth Amendment." Griffin asserted that Griswold's book, The Fifth Amendment Today, "is now relied upon by the Fifth Amendment Communists, fellow travelers, pseudo-liberals and international one-worlders as though it constituted a gold-leaf edition of the Communist Manifesto" (62-94966-16)

George Sokolsky's column of August 30, 1955, was a criticism of the publications being distributed by the Fund. Sokolsky stated that the Fund had distributed 35,000 copies of The Fifth Amendment Today. According to Sokolsky, this book and others distributed by the Fund were "anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees investigating subversives."

New York Journal-American,
August 30, 1955

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A press release issued April 23, 1948, by the Committee of One Thousand, * New York City, indicated that a group of 140 noted educators, clergymen, artists, professional and business people condemned the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its treatment of Dr. Edward U. Condon and called for the committee's abolition because it "directly menaces freedom of conscience and expression." Among the names of individuals who deplored the committee's activities was Griswold's. (100-353406-26)

In September, 1943, the wife of a Seattle, Washington, attorney advised that during a previous exchange of correspondence with Griswold he indicated he was sympathetic with Alger Hiss. (62-94966-9)

During the first Alger Hiss perjury trial in 1949 in New York City, Griswold conferred with a group of people in the corridor of the courthouse, which included Mr. and Mrs. Alger Hiss. (62-94966-2)

In June, 1951, Griswold characterized a loyalty investigation of an applicant for a Government position as "ridiculous, completely unnecessary, and a tremendous waste of manpower."

(62-94966-9)

M. Albert Linton, Member of Board of Directors**

He is chairman of the board of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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* See Appendix for citation.

** Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5

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Linton was reported to be critical of the hearings conducted in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1953 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Communism in the public schools.

The Case Against the School Board.
Published by the Teachers Union of
Philadelphia, 1955

(100-400260-19, encl., p. 4)

A throwaway entitled "Act Today--Tomorrow May Be Too Late," issued in February, 1947, by the Break with Conscription Committee, which urged writing letters to Congressmen opposing peace-time conscription, listed some prominent persons who were opposed to peace-time military training. Linton was among those named. (100-3-1739)

John Lord O'Brian, Member of Board of Directors*

He is a Washington, D. C., attorney.

In January, 1949, O'Brian made an address before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, in which he discussed loyalty tests as a threat to the American constitutional theory of the rights of the individual. O'Brian criticized the loyalty program and certain phases of its administration.

The New York Times, January 24, 1949

In a lecture at Harvard University in early 1955, O'Brian warned that the Nation's obsession with security was creating "an atmosphere hostile

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5

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to our traditional freedom of ideas and which threatens . . . the American sense of fair play," and that many basic constitutional rights have been seriously impaired.

Life, May 30, 1955

In 1930, O'Brien was a member of the Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security of the National Lawyers Guild.*

(100-7321-6 p. 651; 100-391697-15)

Robert E. Sherwood, Member of Board of Directors**

He is a playwright.

Sherwood was one of the signers of a statement presented by the National Institute of Arts and Letters* in 1948 denouncing the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Daily People's World,
February 27, 1948

The Daily People's World for November 20, 1952, reflects that one Robert Sherwood was a member of the Civil Rights Congress.*

In a speech in April, 1955, Sherwood severely criticized the administration's security program as a "heartless, soulless, callous tyranny."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
April 29, 1955

*See Appendix for citation.

**Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

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Following a four-day trip to Yugoslavia, Sherwood wrote a brief article on his experiences which appeared in the Yugoslav Review for May-June, 1955. He wrote: "If I had previously harbored any notions that Yugoslavia might be a drearily regimented, totalitarian, authoritarian police state, I discarded such notions when I observed the unquenchable capacity of the Yugoslavia people, including government officials, for cracking jokes."

In 1941, Sherwood contributed to a fund being raised by the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights* for the legal defense of Clifford T. McAvoy, its vice-president. (100-10117-3)

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, on April 28, 1950, received a telegram signed by producers, directors, actors, writers, musicians and agents of the motion picture industry expressing regret that the Supreme Court declined to review the appeal of the "Hollywood Ten." Included in this list was Sherwood.

(100-138754-637, encl)

As a result of hearings conducted in the Fall of 1947 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, nine Hollywood screen writers and one director were cited for contempt for refusing to answer questions as to

*See Appendix for citation.

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their alleged Communist Party membership. All ten were later indicted by a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress.

James D. Zellerbach, Member of Board of Directors*

He is president of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, California.

Zellerbach, through the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, contributed \$100 monthly to the California Labor School** from July, 1944, until August, 1945, when he became aware of the Communist nature of the school.

(124-524-13, 17)

He was a contributor to the Institute of Pacific Relations** in 1944, a candidate for election to its board of trustees in 1947, and a member of its board of trustees in 1948. (124-524-9)

Zellerbach's wife and his brother, Harold Zellerbach, donated small amounts on one occasion in 1944-1945 to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.** (124-524-17)

In 1953, Zellerbach was a member of the Citizens Committee to Protect Rincon Annex Murals. The murals had been painted on the walls of the Rincon Annex Post Office in San Francisco, California, by Anton Refregi

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

**See Appendix for citation.

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described as a well-known painter of Communist sympathies. The paintings were said to epitomize the baser, violent periods of California's history.

(77-58967-8)

Other members of the present board of directors are:

Charles W. Cole

President, Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts*

Russell L. Dearmont

Attorney, St. Louis, Missouri*

William H. Joyce, Jr.

Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.,
Pasadena, California*

Meyer Kestebaum

President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx,
Chicago, Illinois*

Jubal R. Parton

President, Woodley Petroleum
Company, Houston, Texas*

Elmo Roper

Head, Elmo Roper Associates,
New York City*

Mrs. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson

Wife of president of Oberlin College,
Oberlin, Ohio*

Malcolm Bryan, Former Member of Board of Directors**

He is president of the Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Georgia.

A source of unknown reliability, who was a friend of Bryan, advised that when Bryan was about eighteen years of age, he absorbed Karl Marx and

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

**Source: The New York Times, December 19, 1952.

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other such authors "like a sponge." He was once asked by this source if he was a Communist, to which he replied that he was a "Fabian Socialist."

Dryan stated in his student days that socialism was on its way and that "we might as well get on the band wagon." (Mrs. Florence Bryant, Charleston, Ill. 100-0-28291)

Other former members of the board of directors are:

James F. Drownlee

Partner, J. H. Whitney and
Company, New York City*

Huntington Cairns

Attorney, Washington, D. C.*

Richard J. Finnegan (Deceased)

Consulting Editor,
The Chicago Sun-Times*

*Source: The New York Times, December 13, 1932;
Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1935, p. 5.

PART III

FUND PRODUCTIONS

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Completed Productions

There are comparatively few completed productions which can be attributed to the Fund. Those which have been finished are set forth below:

Compilation of Statutes and Executive Orders on Loyalty-Security

In November, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$21,000 for the preparation of a compilation of laws and regulations relating to the loyalty-security program.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 30

According to the December 22, 1954, issue of The New York Times, in December, 1954, the Fund was furnished a 101-page compilation of statutes, executive orders, and other regulations pertaining to the loyalty-security program. The report of the Fund indicates that the research was performed by Sandra Weinstein and Ralph S. Brown, Jr., of the Yale Law School.

Brown has authored articles critical of the loyalty-security

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program. In an article in the July, 1953, issue of the Yale Law Journal, he attacked and belittled the Coast Guard Screening Board for relying on confidential informants of the FBI whose identities are not revealed.

This article claimed the program was unconstitutional. (94-34122-87, 88)

The Bridgeport Herald, for December 7, 1947, showed that Brown was one of a group of faculty members of the Yale Law School who signed letters to high Government officials protesting the Loyalty Program and urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (121-34869-IX)

Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$185,500 for a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties. The results of this survey were published as a book by Samuel A. Stouffer entitled, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties, by Doubleday and Company in 1955.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 23, 33

The committee which prepared this study included the following:

Chairman: Samuel A. Stouffer,
Director of Laboratory of Social Relations,
Harvard University

In 1946, Stouffer was a member of the faculty of the School of Political Action and Techniques conducted by the Massachusetts Citizens Political Action Committee in Boston, Massachusetts. This organization was alleged to be under Communist influence. (121-38346-29)

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Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Professor,
Columbia University

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The July 3, 1937, issue of The New York Times reflects that Dr. Marie Lazarsfeld, former wife of Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Vienna, Austria, after pleading guilty to aiding Socialists and possessing Socialist literature.

The Daily People's World for May 22, 1950, indicated that Lazarsfeld had announced his cancellation of a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regents' loyalty oath requirements. In October, 1943, Lazarsfeld was reported to have taken part in the program of the Writers Congress held at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The Fourth Report of the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of California, as prepared by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 regular California Legislature, Sacramento, California, states on page 135 that the Writers Congress held on October 1, 2, and 3, 1943, was sponsored by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, successor to the Hollywood Branch of the League of American Writers.*

In May, 1945, the Newspaper Guild of New York presented a

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* See Appendix for citation.

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free speech forum on station WMCA, New York City. The speakers, were Earl Browder, then president of the Communist Political Association, and Paul Lazarfeld. (123-9824-18, p. 8)

Alexander F. Leighton, Professor,
Cornell University

Leighton was listed as a book reviewer for the June, 1945, issue of Pacific Affairs, a publication of The Institute of Pacific Relations, *

In the "Acknowledgments" section of the book Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, Stouffer paid tribute to many other persons who had contributed memoranda and criticism. They included the following:

Alice Bauer

In 1943, Alice Bauer was reported to be a social acquaintance of William W. Remington and his wife, Ann. (65-56402-1-994)

Remington was convicted in January, 1933, of perjury and sentenced to three years in prison. Prior to the completion of this

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sentence, however, he was killed in prison.

(100-44274-31)

[redacted]

An article in the May 12, 1950, issue of The Washington Post newspaper stated that [redacted] had been summoned on May 11, 1950, to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was stated that some of [redacted] testimony might center on William W. Remington, with whom [redacted] was friendly while both attended the Navy's Oriental Language School.

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(121-6159-A)

Another Government agency advised that on May 17, 1950, [redacted] told an employee of that agency about his testimony before the House Committee on that date. He told that individual that he had seen and talked to Remington on the evening of May 16, 1950. [redacted] further told that individual that the committee "had nothing on him [redacted] and he is not and never has been a Communist." (74-1379-305; 140-3773-31; 121-6159-819)

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The employee of another Government agency, who is acquainted with [redacted] advised in June, 1954, that he considered [redacted] an apologist for the Soviet Union since [redacted] would defend the Soviet Union's actions and sometimes argues quite vehemently in favor of the Russians. He also considered [redacted] to have been very friendly with William W. Remington when both were stationed in Washington, D. C. (140-3773-35)

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On May 19, 1950, [] admitted that he knew Remington, having first met him April, 1944, when both were assigned to the Naval Oriental Language School in New York. He related that he came to know Remington quite well thereafter and had last seen him in approximately May, 1949. He also admitted that he was socially acquainted with Mrs. Remington. (121-6159-728; 74-1379-306)

Talcott Parsons

In May, 1945, Parsons was a member of the Educational Committee of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom.* Parsons (100-390459-46) admitted being a sponsor of the John Reed Club* at Harvard University.

M. Brewster Smith

The Portland Oregonian for January 27, 1938, listed Brewster Smith as one of the members of the Executive Committee of the American Student Union* chapter of Reed College. (61-7497-49)

The Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions* issued a statement on March 1, 1949, to the effect that 150 educational leaders from more than 50 American colleges

*See Appendix for citation.

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and universities had urged the president of the University of Washington to reinstate, with full rights of tenure, three professors recently discharged from the university for membership in or "ambiguous relationship to" the Communist Party. Smith was listed as a signer of the statement.

(121-23278-267X12, p. 161)

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Another Government agency conducting personnel and intelligence investigations, advised that [] indicated that from 1936 to 1938 she had been a member of the American Student Union. *

Gordon Allport

(100-305068)

Gordon Allport is further identified in the section describing the Commission on Race and Housing.

The primary objective of the study which produced Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, according to comments on the jacket of the book itself, was to "sound out America's attitude toward the threat of Communism, its feeling about conformity, and its respect for civil liberties."

Stouffer assessed the Communist menace in the following manner:

*See Appendix for citation.

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"...there can be no denying that some Americans in the past, including some well-educated people, were victimized by Communist ideology. It does not necessarily follow, as some Americans seem to think, that the same thing is happening today and that our youth in schools and colleges or our government workers or factory employees are being successfully converted to become traitors to the United States and secret agents of world revolution.

"...there can be no denying that certain propositions which some Communists believe in, or profess to believe in, are also sincerely believed by some Americans today who are loyal to America and bitterly opposed to Russia. The difficulty, of course, is to counteract the belief that the holding or propagation of any such beliefs, especially as they deviate from traditional American thinking, is 'playing Russia's game.'

"...It is doubtful whether any Americans, except for the small core of Communists and a scattering of right-wing Fascist extremists, believe in or preach political dictatorship. It is likewise doubtful whether any but a handful of disciplined Communists favor or advocate the domination of the world by Russia...."

Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism,
Conformity, and Civil Liberties,
pp. 105, 107

Stouffer observed that very few individuals were concerned about either the Communist threat or the threat to civil liberties. Nevertheless, Stouffer concluded that "one must not draw the inference... that the internal Communist menace or the chipping away of civil liberties does not constitute a serious ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ problem merely because the general public is not deeply anxious about either of these problems." (p. 88)

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Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States and
Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$64,500 for a study of official records relating to Communist activity. Two volumes were published by the Fund in 1955. The first-named work is devoted to literature relating to Communism in the United States since 1919; the second is a record of public proceedings, court prosecutions, legislation, executive action, et cetera-- concerning Communists and Communism in this country. As a result of this study, two volumes entitled, Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States and Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States were published by the Fund in 1955. These books have been distributed by the Fund to university, research and public libraries.

The committee which prepared this study included Clinton Rossiter, professor, Cornell University.

(100-391697)

Microfilm of Court Cases on Communist Activities

Under the afore-mentioned \$64,500 appropriation, the Fund has also furnished microfilm records of the most important court cases on Communist

*See Appendix for citation.

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activities to some of the larger libraries throughout the country.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 12, 13, 23, 38

Case Studies in Personnel Security

In June, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$100,000 for a compilation of the facts on individual cases under the loyalty-security program. This survey was directed and edited by Adam Yarmolinsky, a Washington, D. C., attorney.

In 1955, a book by Yarmolinsky entitled Case Studies in Personnel Security was published by The Bureau of National Affairs. It includes summaries of 50 case histories of individuals whose cases were processed under various Federal personnel security programs.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 20, 30

This study tends to reflect the thinking of W. H. Ferry of The Fund for the Republic. In a memorandum dated March 1, 1955, captioned "The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Loyalty-Security Case Study," which memorandum was signed W. H. Ferry, Vice-President, it was stated that The Fund for the Republic had undertaken, as part of a fact-finding study of the operation of government loyalty and security programs, to collect case

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histories of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs, covering Government employees, employees of Government contractors, merchant seamen and port workers. This memorandum also stated that the Fund had made a special grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York to establish a committee on the Federal loyalty-security programs which had been asked to look into all aspects of the programs and to make recommendations for changes, as such changes, in the committee's judgment, were needed. The memorandum also noted that the case histories would be for the confidential use of The Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and that they would not be circulated beyond that point. Ferry, in his memorandum, further stated that it was proposed to prepare a limited number of cases in a form which would make it possible to circulate them without restriction.

In the introduction to his book, Case Studies in Personnel Security, Yarmolinsky stated that the 50 cases presented in that book had been collected in the course of a study of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs and that the study was still in progress. It was further stated, in the introduction of Yarmolinsky's book, that in each instance the employee was asked, through his lawyer, whether he would be

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willing to release the report of his case for general distribution and that the cases appearing therein were among those in which such a release had been obtained. Yarmolinsky further stated that about one-half of the cases collected had been made available only on the understanding that they would be circulated in confidence to the members of the Committee and the personnel of The Fund for the Republic and would not be released for general distribution. Yarmolinsky admits that the fact that such cases were not included in his book may have had an effect on the sample.

This sampling which excludes the cases arising under the Truman Loyalty program (Executive Order 9835) is so limited, when contrasted with the results of the nation's complete loyalty-security program which involved approximately 6 million cases, as to be misleading and relatively worthless as a criterion for judgment.

The Tablet, a Catholic weekly, in its issue of August 20, 1955, said that the 50 cases selected by Yarmolinsky contained snatches of testimony which could be used to make the loyalty checks appear absurd. "The purpose of the report," the article said, "was clearly aimed at duping those who believe everything in print must be true into believing that any group that is engaged in the investigation of Communist and Soviet agents in this country is stupid, ineffective, and expendable."

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An editorial in the Fort Lauderdale (Florida) Daily News for September 3, 1955, stated, "... Out of 2,200,000 employees screened since the 1953 origin of the security check, the 'study' offered 50 cases in which testimony could be manipulated to make the whole program seem unfair and ridiculous."

Yarmolinsky was assisted by an advisory committee which included Roger D. Fisher, also a Washington, D. C., attorney.

It was reported that an individual believed to be identical with Fisher attended the annual closed meeting of the American Youth Congress* on February 7, 8, and 9, 1941, in Washington, D. C. (124-1111-7)

The Draftee and Internal Security

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid and appropriated \$115,000. Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, was among those who received a grant-in-aid from the Fund for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army based on preinduction activities or associations.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 40

Watts began this study on his own initiative under the sponsorship of the Workers Defense League, and while his work was in progress he received the grant-in-aid from The Fund for the Republic.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
August 5, 1955

The Workers Defense League has been described by the House

*See Appendix for citation.

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Committee on Un-American Activities as the defense organization of the Socialist Party.

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, H. Res. 282 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938) p. 678

In 1955, a two-volume work entitled The Draftee and Internal Security by Watts was released by the Workers Defense League. Volume I sets forth Watts' analysis and conclusions regarding the Army Military Personnel Security Program as it affects draftees. Volume II outlines 49 case studies out of the 110 cases reviewed by Watts.

In Volume I, Watts concludes that the Army has challenged in regulation and practice every right "to which every young man subject to the Universal Military Training and Service Act is entitled." p. 93

Rowland Watts

Watts has stated that in 1942 he became president of the Maryland Council for Conscientious Objectors and represented other conscientious objectors in court. On December 26, 1942, he was ordered by Local Draft Board 20, Baltimore, to report to a conscientious objectors' camp in Maryland, after which he was transferred as a conscientious objector worker to the Connecticut State Hospital for the Mentally Insane for two and one-half

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years, this assignment terminating in December, 1945. Watts has admitted this and further stated that in February, 1946, he started his employment with the Workers Defense League and, since 1947, has served as national secretary of that organization. (47-39142-36 p. 5; 100-5557-244, 248)

Watts was one of a number of persons who appeared on the stage of the Labor Temple in New York City on February 12, 1947, in a public demonstration of the Break with Conscription Committee. These individuals denounced the draft and the Selective Service Act and either tore up their draft cards or announced they had previously done so in Washington or had sent them by mail to the President. (61-3415-502 p. 18)

In the Fall of 1951, the New York branch of the Independent Socialist League* sponsored a series of lectures at Labor Action Hall in New York City. Watts was scheduled to speak on September 6, 1951, on the subject "The Loyalty Program and Security Screening - How it threatens our democracy." Watts was reported to have been active on behalf of individuals and groups that claimed to have been unjustly affected by applications of the loyalty program. (100-86590-34-164, p. 3)

In 1952, Watts was listed among the members of the national advisory council of the War Resisters League, a nonsectarian, interracial, pacifist organization affiliated with the War Resisters International, an international pacifist organization. Many of the League's officials and

*See Appendix for citation.

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members have refused to register for any selective service training program and have publicly urged others claiming conscientious objection to war to do likewise, (14-2877-5 page 12)

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DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER MATERIAL

The report of The Fund for the Republic (pp. 41-42) reflects the distribution of various materials pertinent to the Fund's aims and objectives.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 41-42

Commenting on this distribution, David Lawrence wrote in his newspaper column that the Fund's money was being used to distribute books, pamphlets, and speeches "by those who are opposed to the present security program." Lawrence pointed out that no attempt has been made to permit the rebuttal of those writings, "many of which are false and contain misleading statements and half-truths."

The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),
September 16, 1955

George Sokolsky observed in one of his columns that "one phase of political propaganda is the uninvited, unsolicited, unpaid-for distribution of material on one side of a question with the object of influencing public opinion."

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The Washington Post and Times Herald,
June 8, 1955

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In another column, Sokolsky noted, "The list is all one-sided. It is anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees investigating subversives."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
August 30, 1955

Congressman B. Carroll Reece, in a speech before the House of Representatives on July 21, 1955, declared that, "Another activity in the one-sided political propaganda field of the Fund for the Republic is the free and unsolicited distribution of books to Federal judges and college presidents throughout the United States."

Banned Books

As of May 31, 1955, the Fund had distributed 275 copies of Banned Books, by Anne Lyon Haight.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

The author states that most books are banned because of religion, politics or morality "making the offense one of heresy, treason or obscenity..." She includes some books on the list because in her opinion they were under fire for subversive reasons or "because their authors were accused of having subversive opinions."

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Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

The Fund distributed 25,000 copies of a special issue on loyalty-security in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists dated April, 1955, Volume XI, Number 4.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

Congressman Recco, in the July 21, 1955, speech previously referred to, declared that this issue was devoted entirely to attacks on the security and loyalty program of the Government and to praise of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, chairman of the Bulletin's board of sponsors.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on August 25, 1955, said the special issue was given over to a defense and glorification of Oppenheimer and a series of attacks on the Government's loyalty and security program in general.

In June, 1954, following a hearing before an Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Advisory Board which formally inquired into Oppenheimer's past association with the Communist Party, its members and sympathizers, his clearance for access to classified data was revoked.

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The Board found that Oppenheimer's continuing conduct and associations reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of a security system and that a susceptibility to influence had been found which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country. While the Board concluded that Oppenheimer was a loyal citizen, it had been unable to arrive at a conclusion that it would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States to reissue Oppenheimer's clearance.

The first article in the special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists dated April, 1955, is entitled "Security and Science Sacrificed to Loyalty" by Professor Edward Shils of the University of Chicago. Shils' article infers that those who took no part in formulating security-loyalty regulations were "bullied and misled by a very small minority of vociferous demagogues and their febrile popular following."

While a student at the University of Chicago in 1937, Shils was a member of the American Student Union. * (Letter dated 7/30/43 from A. J. Brumbaugh, Dean of Students, Univ. of Chicago, to the 7th Civil Service Region, Civil Service Commission) (123-8048-6)

Ralph S. Brown, Jr., wrote one article and contributed to another article in this special issue. He criticized the loyalty-security program as a "shocking waste of resources" since thousands are engaged in the administration of security programs. Brown has been described previously in connection with Fund productions.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Cornell Series in Civil Liberties

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Robert E. Cushman, a consultant for the Fund,* was the advisory editor of the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties distributed by the Fund. Seven books were published in this series although the report of the Fund does not specifically state that all seven were distributed. These books are described below.

The first book published in the series was Security, Loyalty and Science (1950) by Walter Gellhorn, professor of law at Columbia University. Statements by the author in this book minimize the Communist threat, the effects of espionage, and call the loyalty and security programs defective. Gellhorn presents false information concerning the FBI, stating that special squads of FBI Agents are given technical indoctrination courses and are then stationed in laboratories of the Atomic Energy Commission. This statement is false in its entirety.

Gellhorn also edited The States and Subversion (1952), which consists of a series of articles by different authors relating to the efforts made by various states to combat subversion. In varying degrees, the authors conclude that the States of Illinois, Maryland and Michigan were wrong or failed in their objective. Gellhorn's own comments again tend to

*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

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minimize the influence and threat of Communism in this country. He concludes that legislation enacted to control subversion has been faulty and there is a question as to the need for additional legislation in this field.

According to an article in the February 1, 1939, issue of the Daily Worker, Gellhorn was one of one hundred and fifty professors and attorneys who attacked the Dies Committee for the manner in which it was conducting investigations.

The Daily Worker for March 15, 1948, contained an article captioned "Gellhorn Raps Un-Americans." This item refers to an article written by Gellhorn in the Spring issue of The American Scholar, in which he criticizes the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and calls for resolutions that will permit a witness to have counsel, to reply to charges with oral or written statements, and to cross-examine the person who has attacked his character and reputation. Gellhorn is quoted as having said, "More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying." (101-6064-29)

On October 16, 1950, Gellhorn gave an address before the New Haven Civil Liberties Union, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, at the Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut.

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The subject of his address was "You and the Subversives." Gellhorn is reported to have said that he had been conducting a survey of committees of various states whose purpose was to curb subversive activities. He said that in many states, because of pressure on the state legislature, laws had been passed which are a great threat to civil liberties. Gellhorn cited examples of laws which had been passed by states with the purpose of controlling Communism. Gellhorn lamented such legislative acts and the extensive investigations made in the various institutions of education, adding that if there were any real indication of subversion, such as acts of sabotage, he would not object to the investigations. (101-6064-35)

The Washington Post and Times Herald for April 1, 1955, carried a letter to the editor captioned "Freedom to Teach." The letter was signed by a group of ten individuals, among whom was Walter Gellhorn. The communication calls attention to the case of Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, described as a well-known writer on Marxian economics who has refused to answer certain questions asked by the Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire, pointing out that Dr. Sweezy refused to answer questions about the content of one of his lectures which dealt with the theory of socialism. This letter points out the need for free presentation, free discussion and free questioning in education, and questions the wisdom of the Attorney General's conduct in the case of Sweezy. (100-346046-27)

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The December 24, 1952, issue of the Miami Herald set forth that Louis Budenz, a national official of the Communist Party, USA, from 1935 to 1945, testified under oath that Gellhorn was a member of the Communist Party.

Gellhorn has also been either a member of or participated in (100-385355-24 encl) activities of the following organizations:*

1. American Rescue Ship Mission
2. International Juridical Association
3. International Labor Defense
4. National Emergency Conference
5. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights
6. National Lawyers' Guild
7. Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio
8. Workers School, New York City

A trusted official of the American Civil Liberties Union has privately stated that Gellhorn, as a member of the board of the ACLU has never taken an anti-Communist position in meetings of the board of the ACLU.

(Morris Ernst to Mr. L. B. Nichols)
Edward L. Barrett, Jr., professor of law at the University of California, was the author of another book in the Cornell Series entitled The Tenney Committee (1951). Barrett argues that legislative committees should be judged by their ability to reduce the "influence and effectiveness of

*See Appendix for citation.

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totalitarian groups without seriously endangering democratic pressures for improvement of the economic and social structure of our country." Barrett says; "Perhaps a case can also be made for the Communists," and makes reference to an article by Gerald W. Johnson entitled "Why Communists Are Valuable," in Harper's Magazine for January, 1950.

Vern Countryman, associate professor of law at Yale Law School, wrote a book in the Cornell series, entitled, Un-American Activities in the State of Washington (1951). Countryman charged that the Canwell Committee, which conducted the investigation in the State of Washington, did more to subvert established legal processes than any of the subjects investigated by the Committee. He charged that it accomplished all of the activities which had been proscribed and which the Committee had been authorized to investigate. In June, 1953, Countryman was reported to be a member of the National Lawyers' Guild. * (100-7321-962 p. 15)

On March 4, 1954, Countryman testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. He gave reasons why the Government should not and could not force registration of Communist action and front groups. (62-88217-1550 p. 377-409)

Countryman, in 1954, was a member of the national council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC).

Appendix for citation.

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(100-384660-87 p. 3; 61; 104;
100-37078-178 p. 4)

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In August, 1954, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, referred to the ECLC as one of the "forces carrying on the defense of the Bill of Rights today." (100-7254-1725)

Countryman was chairman of the legal committee of the New Haven Civil Liberties Council. A meeting in November, 1952, had as its purpose the raising of funds for the defense of Hyman Kaplan, who was threatened with deportation because of his past Communist activities. (100-39582-31, 32)

The Daily Worker for November 23, 1952, reflected that Countryman signed a plea for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. On March 29, 1951, the Rosenbergs were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and were subsequently executed for this crime. (100-417381)

In April, 1952, Countryman and Fowler Harper, another Yale professor, wrote a series of articles in the daily and Sunday Compass, a New York newspaper. The articles, captioned "Mr. Justice Douglas Dissents," discussed the dissenting opinions of Justice Douglas concerning the McCarran Act and deportation, the loyalty case of Dorothy Bailey, who was dismissed from Government service, and the case of the eleven convicted Communist Party leaders. These articles generally defend Justice Douglas' dissenting opinions in these cases. (100-3-74-A, 4/6/52; 121-332-A; 100-372598-A, 4/8/52)

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The fifth book in the Cornell series, entitled Loyalty and Legislative Action (1951), was written by Lawrence H. Chamberlain, dean of Columbia College. This book purports to analyze thirty years of legislative control of subversive activity in the State of New York. Chamberlain characterizes two New York investigating committees as tarnished by hypocrisy and buffoonery and states that a third one may have exceeded its functions. Chamberlain strongly indicates that subversive activity is not a matter for investigation by legislative committees.

In 1952, Robert K. Carr, professor of law and political science at Dartmouth College, wrote The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945 - 1950, as part of the Cornell series. Carr minimizes the danger from Communism in this country and claims the only damage Communists can do is the criminal damage of espionage and sabotage. He concludes that the committee should be abolished and its work given to other established committees.

Carr was a member of an advisory committee to Walter Gellhorn in the preparation of the book Security, Loyalty and Science, and wrote one of several pamphlets disseminated by the League of Women Voters of the United States under a program called "Freedom Agenda," sponsored by the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., and financed by The Fund for the Republic.

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Carr has written favorable reviews of Telford Taylor's book, Grand Inquest, and Alan Barth's book, Government by Investigation.
(100-14160-23; 62-82979-4)

Carr furnished a sworn affidavit on November 10, 1943, in behalf of the good character of William W. Remington during Remington's loyalty review board hearing. (74-1379-535 p. 6)

William W. Remington has been identified in the section dealing with the Fund's productions.

In 1953, the last book in the Cornell series was published. This was The Federal Loyalty-Security Program by Eleanor Bontecou.

In her book, Miss Bontecou characterized the present period as an "unhappy era when witch hunting is prevalent and hysteria is easily induced." Although she admits there is a credit side to the loyalty-security program, she argues that the Attorney General has violated the accepted standards of due process in issuing his list; that there is unwise or clumsy administration of the loyalty order; and that the effect of the provision of the loyalty order which requires or permits the Attorney General to proscribe organizations has been to restrict freedom of association in areas entirely unrelated to Government employment. Miss Bontecou infers that the implementation of the loyalty and security programs could lead to

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the gradual attrition of our basic rights and liberties and she states that they must not be sacrificed with complacency. (pp. 238-244, 253-254)

Faceless Informers and Our Schools

In the Fall of 1954, a pamphlet consisting of a series of articles appeared in the Denver Post entitled "Faceless Informers and Our Schools." The author, Associate Editor Lawrence Martin, criticized the use of so-called "faceless informers" by state and Federal investigative agencies and decried the summary dismissal of school teachers in Colorado and elsewhere based on "anonymous, unevaluated and unsupported" charges of subversive connections received from such informers. The author did not raise the important point of whether or not the individuals were actually Communists, nor did he concern himself with the real evil--the failure of the state authorities to investigate the charges and to afford due process in making the dismissals. (100-384660-138; 94-8-108-104)

Government by Investigation

The Fund has distributed 850 copies of Alan Barth's book,

Government by Investigation.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

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In this book, Barth concludes that the congressional power to investigate has in the recent past been abused and needs to be restricted in behalf of individual rights and freedoms, as well as in behalf of the independence of foundations, funds, churches, universities, the press and related groups.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his column on May 23, 1955, stated that copies of Barth's book had been distributed to Federal judges. Lewis portrayed Barth as a defender of Alger Hiss, William Remington and J. Robert Oppenheimer. (100-418797-1)

Barth has been an editorial writer for The Washington Post * since 1943, and in that time he has written numerous books, articles and editorials critical of congressional investigating committees, the Government's loyalty program and the FBI. Among them was a favorable book review of Max Lowenthal's book, The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which appeared in the December 4, 1950, issue of The New Republic.

This book criticized the Government security program and the FBI.
(62-60527-32953)

Barth's book, The Loyalty of Free Men, published by the Viking Press in 1951, criticized the Government's security program and also loyalty oaths for teachers.

*Now The Washington Post and Times Herald

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An article by Barth which was critical of the loyalty program, appeared in the February, 1952, issue of the Progressive Magazine. It was entitled the "Age of Doubt." (62-60527-32953)

"How Good Is an FBI Report?" appeared in the March, 1954, issue of Harper's Magazine. This article criticized the Government's loyalty program and FBI reports. This criticism was answered by Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona in a speech before the United States Senate on March 29, 1954, in which the false allegations contained in Barth's article were refuted. (62-60527-32953)

The Baltimore Sun for May 25, 1954, reflected that Barth spoke at a meeting of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, a branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, on abuse of investigating powers by Congressional committees.

Alan Barth's name appeared on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization in February, 1941.* (61-10498-407, -p. 203)
Grand Inquest

The Fund distributed 450 copies of Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor (1955).

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

*See Appendix for citation.

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Taylor, in this book, condemns "loyalty committees" as a sort of "irregular and irresponsible security police force" which is fast becoming an "inquisition." He claims they inflict severe punishment "outside the due and regular processes of criminal law."

In July, 1954, Taylor was retained by Harry Bridges, west coast labor leader, against whom the Federal Government had brought denaturalization proceedings on the grounds that Bridges had been a member of the Communist Party before he was naturalized in 1945. Accounts of the trial of Bridges in The New York Times indicate that Taylor actually argued the case in Federal District Court as chief counsel for Bridges. In July, 1955, the United States Court in San Francisco ruled that the Government had not proved its charges.

The New York Times, July 14, 1954,
July 30, 1955, August 4, 1955

Taylor, who is now an attorney in New York City, admitted membership in the National Lawyers Guild* from 1935 to 1942. Taylor was reported to have been in contact or to have associated with the following individuals who have either been members of or closely associated with the Communist Party: Alger Hiss, Joseph Barnes, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Simon Gerson, Harry Bridges, Richard Sasuly and Mary Jane Keeney.

(101-1298-27, 29)

*See Appendix for citation.

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On January 14, 1953, Kurt Ponger and Otto Verber were arrested by United States military authorities in Vienna, Austria, and were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage in June, 1953. Both Ponger and Verber were on Taylor's staff when Taylor was a prosecutor at the War Crimes Trials in Nuremberg, Germany, from 1945 to 1948. Following his arrest, Ponger stated he would like to contact General Telford Taylor. (101-1298-29)

On a news broadcast on May 23, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., pointed out that the United States Civil Service Commission had flagged Taylor's file with a code which meant "Unresolved Act on Loyalty." (100-418797-1)
Open Occupancy

"Open Occupancy" is the title of an article which appeared in the April, 1955, issue of House and Home. Fifteen thousand copies were distributed to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and to others in the race relations field.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

This article is concerned with the question of peacefully, justly and intelligently settling racial difficulties as they relate to housing.

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See It Now

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In connection with the interview of J. Robert Oppenheimer by Edward R. Murrow on the "See It Now" television program, one hundred and ten 16 mm. prints of this interview were distributed by the Fund to educational institutions, civic organizations and local discussion groups.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 41

Congressman B. Carroll Reece, in his speech of July 21, 1955, previously referred to, stated as follows:

"In typical Ed Murrow fashion, the interview was a highly colored propaganda job to present to its viewers Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as a genius, a towering figure in American science, who had been grossly abused and wrongfully accused of outrageous charges of which he was now and had always been, entirely innocent.

"Ignored entirely in this Ed Murrow Propaganda film were the details of the charges against Oppenheimer, including his own admissions that he lied repeatedly to security officers of the Manhattan District and the FBI regarding his contacts with the Soviet espionage agent, Hansen Chevalier, as well as other vital security matters."

George Sokolsky, in The Washington Post and Times Herald for February 15, 1955, wrote that "Mr. Murrow's telecast was obviously not designed to be objective; it was an opportunity for Dr. Oppenheimer to state his side and his side alone of a vexed question. To be objective,

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someone designated by the Atomic Energy Commission should have been present at the same time, to present the data available to the Commission upon which it caused the separation of Dr. Oppenheimer from that body."

The Fort Lauderdale (Florida) Daily News for September 3, 1955, commented that "Morrow's judgment may be questioned, but his right to 'star' a security risk on a nationwide program can not. But use of Fund For the Republic money to circulate transcriptions of the telecast to schools and other audiences is certainly a questionable foundation activity."

The Fund also distributed five 16 mm. prints of the "See It Now" television program on book censorship in California to Southern California civic groups. This program was critical of censorship of books in California.

In 1942, Edward Morrow, London correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, was listed in an official bulletin of the organization as a sponsor for the Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime. * (62-86094-46)

On April 13, 1943, the Milwaukee Sentinel stated that Edward R. Morrow was the English narrator for the Russian film, "Siege of Leningrad," an Artkino full length documentary film based on photographs taken by the Russians in 1941 and 1942. (62-86094-46)

*See Appendix for citation.

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Records of the Foreign Agents Registration Section, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., reflect that Artkino Pictures, Incorporated, 723 Seventh Avenue, New York City, is the registered agent of the following foreign principals for exclusive distribution of motion pictures throughout the United States:

Sovexportfilm - USSR

Magyar Filmgyarto, M. V. - Budapest, Hungary

Czechoslovak State Films, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Sovromfilm, Bucharest, Rumania

Centrala Wynajmu Filmow (Film Polski), Warsaw, Poland

(SAC Letter No. 55-62)

An article appearing in The New York Times for March 13, 1954, entitled, "Morrow Replies--Defends '35 Role," related that Edward R. Morrow had stated the previous day that he would claim neither "ignorance nor youth" for having served on an advisory council for a summer session of Moscow University in 1935. In rebuttal to a charge made a few days before by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Morrow said he was only one of twenty-five persons, most of whom were distinguished educators, who served on this advisory council. According to the article, Morrow was twenty-seven years old at the time and was assistant director of the Institute for International Education. The article said that the Institute for International Education was explained by Morrow to have "dealt primarily

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with the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries." He said that the board of trustees of the organization created the advisory council in 1935 for a proposed Moscow University Summer School, but the school was "abruptly and without satisfactory explanation cancelled" in the spring by the Russian authorities and no effort was made to revive the venture. According to the article, the Institute still functioned in New York City and Murrow was one of the trustees. (62-86094-36)

In 1949, Murrow was named as a reference on the passport application of Winston Mansfield Burdett. The New York Times for June 30, 1955, reflects that Burdett testified on June 29, 1955, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), Washington, D. C., that he had been a Communist Party member from 1937 to 1942, and had engaged in espionage for Russia overseas. Burdett painted a dramatic and detailed picture of his spying for Russia in Finland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Turkey from 1940 to 1942. (100-376050-105)

Counterattack for March 19, 1954, stated that Murrow "went to bat for Radulovich in a very cleverly slanted program that produced no

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evidence that Radulovich had been judged wrongly." According to Counterattack, Lieutenant Milo Radulovich was an Air Force reserve officer who refused to resign his commission when asked to do so because it was decided that he was not a good security risk although his loyalty was not questioned. (100-350512-576)

"Strong in Their Pride and Free"

Three thousand copies of a speech by former Senator Harry P. Cain entitled "Strong in Their Pride and Free" were distributed by the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

In this speech, among other things, Cain defends the use of the Fifth Amendment by Communists or others who do not wish to testify against their own interests. He also comments on security boards, informants and the organizations on the Attorney General's

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"current subversive list."

As a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Cain, on March 18, 1955, criticized the Federal security system and called for a prompt liquidation of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. On that date, Cain urged that a clean bill on security be given to anyone who had been a member of any of the 250 proscribed groups - with the exception of the Communist Party - and had resigned before the list was first made public in 1947. (94-4-4888-6)

The Daily Worker for March 20, 1955, contained an article which reflected that Cain had said the Attorney General's "subversive list" will destroy the American way of life if allowed to remain unchallenged.

The New York Times for May 24, 1955, stated that on the previous day, Cain had denounced the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as a "vastly misleading security measure."

The Los Angeles Mirror-News for June 27, 1955, reflected that Cain, in a press conference, stated that because the Federal Government

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had become so wrapped up in security programs, it was getting a lot of Government employees who were "drones and dunderheads." "If I had my choice, I would rather be indicted by a grand jury for the most heinous crime - murder, rape or what have you - than be accused in an administrative proceeding of being disloyal or a poor security risk. At least I would have a better chance of proving my innocence and protecting my name and reputation." (100-7254-A)

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born* promoted the observance of National "Americans All" Week to be observed from October 21 to October 28, 1941. The organization's letter which made this announcement carried a list of 123 sponsors. Included in the list of sponsors was Mayor Harry P. Cain, Tacoma, Washington, (100-7046-120X)

The Fifth Amendment Today

The Fund distributed 35,000 copies of Erwin N. Griswold's book The Fifth Amendment Today to the bench and bar.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

This book consists of three speeches given by Griswold, who is dean of the Harvard Law School. Griswold defends the use of the

*See Appendix for citation.

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privilege against self-incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment as a symbol of the tradition of individual liberty in this country. He says, "In protecting ourselves from the threat of Communism, we should not adopt methods of oppression here which the Communists themselves would use."

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on September 7, 1955, revealed that whereas the Fund had purchased 35,000 copies of Griswold's book and had distributed them to lawyers and judges throughout the country, it bought only 500 copies of a pamphlet reprint of an article in the Fordham Law Review by C. Dickerman Williams which took issue with Griswold. Lewis said that later, in response to requests, about 2,000 additional copies had been printed.

The Kept Witnesses

The Fund distributed to labor officials and business executives 25,000 copies of an article by Richard H. Rovere entitled "The Kept Witnesses," which appeared in the May, 1955, issue of Harper's Magazine. Rovere has been a contributing editor to this magazine since 1949.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

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Rovere's article omits any comment upon witnesses who have testified against members of the extreme "right-wing" or "native fascist" groups.

Rovere infers that men and women who furnish the FBI information are exempt from security clearance. In this, he is in error for no clearance of any kind is given to them by the FBI. The truth is that regular FBI informants are carefully investigated before the regular acceptance of information is effected. Where there are any indications that a source of information is unreliable or has serious character defects, his services and information are unacceptable to the FBI.

Rovere refers to a William Garfield Cummings as "an FBI agent." His error here is as pronounced as his errors elsewhere in the article. Cummings was never an agent of the FBI.

The Newark Star Ledger for October 4, 1955, carried an article reporting that J. Edgar Hoover and Assistant United States Attorney General Tompkins had "lashed out at critics of the nation's security program, with an article reprinted by the Fund for the Republic receiving special attention." Tompkins stated that the article, "The Kept Witnesses," was completely without foundation in fact and hardly suggested

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"a high journalistic standard." Tompkins, it stated, accused the author, Richard H. Rovere, of making baseless and uninformed statements about the Government's confidential informant system. The newspaper article went on to state that a spokesman for The Fund for the Republic subsequently stated that officers and directors of the Fund thought the Rovere article "was a good piece covering the area in which we are interested," and when asked if they could vouch for its accuracy stated, "We don't vouch for anything."

In the column, "The Editor's Opinion," appearing in the same newspaper on the same date, the following comments were made:

"The spokesman for the Fund insists it did not vouch for the article's accuracy. This is sheer quibbling. It is obvious enough that anyone receiving the article from the Fund will think that this is the Fund's own point of view.

"It seems to us that this is highly irresponsible behavior for an organization which claims to be seeking the truth. It is especially irresponsible when the material in question is a bitter and highly-colored attack on the United States Government.

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"The Fund has a responsibility to make an effort to determine the truth of the material which it disseminates. It has a responsibility to try to learn the other side of the case.

"As J. Edgar Hoover put it yesterday:

"Those now furthering the campaign of vituperation against witnesses say the Communist menace is a myth created by those who testify against it. They refused to recognize the Communist enslavement of one-third of the world's people and one-fourth of the world's surface."

Rovere was an associate editor of New Masses* in 1938-1939.

Who's Who in America, 1954-1955

*etc in
Oyster Point*
It has been reported that in 1933, while Rovere was at Bard College in ^{Annandale-on-Hudson,} ~~Annandale~~, New York, then a branch of Columbia University, he was a member of the Young Communist League (YCL)* and later became a member of the Communist Party. The same source indicated, however, that Rovere disaffiliated himself from the Communist Party in 1939 and no longer had any sympathy for that organization. (100-258542-11)

Rovere has confirmed this information. He has said that during his college days, he had considered himself a Communist but could not honestly state whether he had ever had a Communist Party card in his possession. (117-1403-3)

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*See Appendix for citation.

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Referral/Consult

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt

The Fund distributed 25, 000 copies of an article which appeared in The American Scholar entitled "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt" by Richard Hofstadter. This article was distributed to business executives, educators and churchmen.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Hofstadter, who is a professor of history at Columbia University, believes that twenty years ago the dynamic force in political life in the United States came from liberal dissent. Today, he believes it is "a dynamic of dissent" coming from pseudo-conservatives. Needless to say, Hofstadter does not approve of pseudo-conservatism and is convinced that it has passed its peak and is on the wane.

George Sokolsky, in his column of June 22, 1955, remarked:

"Professor Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University is having a tough time translating himself into a conservative. Apparently

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the cult of liberalism is proving as unpopular in the 1950's as the cult of fellow-travelling proved to be in the late 1940's. Men who live by labels often discover that their thinking has run away from the labels, so the liberal calls himself a conservative, and Professor Hofstadter calls conservatives 'pseudo-conservatives,' whatever that may mean. He tries to tell what it means in a long article in 'The American Scholar' but gets into an interesting tangle. For instance, he makes this point:

"... After 20 years, the New Deal liberals have quite unconsciously taken on the psychology of those who have entered into possession. Moreover, a large part of the New Deal public, the jobless, distracted and bewildered men of 1933, have in the course of the years found substantial places in society for themselves, have become homeowners, suburbanites and solid citizens...."

"So, when Professor Hofstadter worries about the punitive reaction of those whom he calls pseudo-conservatives, he talks nonsense. There is no such thing. He may be worried about a general desire to kick all Communists and their friends in the teeth, but that has to do with another subject."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
June 22, 1955

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To Insure the End of Our Hysteria

The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of an article by Paul G. Hoffman, which appeared in the magazine section of The New York Times for November 14, 1954, entitled "To Insure the End of Our Hysteria." It was distributed to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and to the American Dental Association. Hoffman is chairman of the board of directors of The Fund for the Republic.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Hoffman is of the opinion that fear has been engendered in the minds of American citizens to a serious degree as a result of methods taken to combat Communism. He believes it is lessening, but is afraid that this is only temporary. Hoffman believes that the natural basis for some of the hysteria relates to espionage conducted in the United States, and he thinks that this contributed to a situation resulting in a retreat from fundamental principles and sound security conduct.

It is interesting to note that Hoffman's conclusions in regard to the pervasive influence of this fear and his conclusions as to the extent of the influence of congressional committees appear to be invalidated by the findings set forth in Samuel A. Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity,

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and Civil Liberties, which has been described in a previous section dealing with productions of the Fund. It would seem that the findings of this survey leave open to doubt the extent of influence which Congressional committees do have on public opinion, as well as the extent of the alleged "fear" and "hysteria" which the public is said to have suffered and is suffering from as a result of loyalty and security measures and investigations directed against Communists in the United States.

To Make Our Security System Secure

The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of an article written by Vannevar Bush entitled "To Make Our Security System Secure." This article appeared in the magazine section of The New York Times for March 20, 1955, and was sent to educators.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Bush refers to the "recent witch hunt," which he states was concentrated on scientists. He states that the present system of loyalty clearance has been used "for spite and for thought control" and is so defective that "a new system should be built from the ground up. . . ."

Who "Collaborated" with Russia?

The Fund distributed to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House 500 copies of an article by Paul Willen entitled "Who 'Collaborated'

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With Russia?" This article appeared in the Fall, 1954, issue of the Antioch Review.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Willen attempts to show in his article that an almost universal pro-Russian sentiment prevailed in the United States during World War II; therefore, he indicates that no one person or group should be singled out and criticized for being pro-Russian or responsible for others being pro-Russian.

In 1949, Willen, while a student at Oberlin College, was one of the organizers of a group called "Arch Seven." This group was reported to hold meetings devoted to political discussions of Marxism and related subjects.

(100-86590-11-37; 100-391948-1; 105-416984-4)

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PART IV

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CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS

The Freedom Agenda Program

The stated purpose of the Freedom Agenda program is "to involve all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans." This is accomplished through the medium of forums or discussion groups at the community level. Spearheading this effort is the League of Women Voters through a subsidiary organization, the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. A grant of \$45,000 in April, 1954, to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., was augmented in November, 1954, by an additional grant of \$63,610.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 20, 25

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., sponsored a series of Freedom Agenda pamphlets to be used in connection with the group discussions. According to the American National Research, Inc., Report for October 5, 1955, all six of the pamphlets "are ingeniously contrived diversionary tracts. Communism and internal subversion is either completely ignored or glossed over, minimized, or de-emphasized. This is done through the simple device of creating a tremendous bugaboo about vanishing civil liberties, 'whittling away of Constitutional guarantees, hysteria and exaggerated fear of Communism', and all the

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other tiresome and all-too-familiar stereotypes and worn-out clichés of the anti-anti-Communists, diversionaries, and confusionists."

Report singled out the pamphlet The Constitution and Loyalty Programs for particular mention. Written by twenty-six-year-old Alan Westin, one of the examples used by the author to show that loyalty to country is one of the oldest and most complex problems involved in the governing of man is: "Christ was disloyal to Rome, while Judas, betraying his Master, was loyal to the state." Report points out that, ignoring the no small question of religion, the awkward matter of historical perspective, and complete political non-similarity, "we are presumably to deduce that American Communists by being disloyal to the state are analogous to Jesus Christ. Those Americans who are loyal to their government by infiltrating the Communist conspiracy and 'betraying' its secrets to their own government are 'amalgamated' in the very best Communist style with Judas."

George L. Sokolsky devoted an entire column to the Westin pamphlet. He also pointed out the fallacy in the use of the example set out in the preceding paragraph:

"Christ owed no loyalty to Rome. His loyalty was to God. But apart from that, Rome had conquered Palestine and defiled its Temple to God. The Jews, among whom Christ appeared as a teacher and whose followers regarded Him as a Messiah, were seeking freedom from a profane conqueror. Judas was loyal to no country; he was disloyal to One whom he regarded as his teacher."

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In a similar manner, Sokolsky exposes the faulty use of other examples by Westin. He also points out that although Westin speaks of Benedict Arnold, William Joyce, Vidkun Quisling, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, he says nothing of Alger Hiss, William Remington, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, or of Dr. Klaus Fuchs or Alan Nunn May. He noted that in his pamphlet Westin came up with this conclusion:

"The need to measure fidelity has also provided a fertile field for reckless and irresponsible politicians, who have been supported by groups to whom 'constitutional rights' is a dirty term and unorthodox thinking a sin. Demagogues of this ilk did not invent Communists or the Soviet Union, however, and it seems clear that the proper way to deal with them is not to abandon the quest for fidelity in public employment but to approach the task with sanity and justice, ignoring neither the dangers of Communist activity nor the menace of the radical 'security-firers'."

From this, says Sokolsky, it is possible to say that sin is evil but that objectionable persons are not to be trusted if they point out the sinners.

New York Journal American,
July 5, 1955

Alan Westin joined the Communist Party under an assumed name while attending Harvard University in 1943 and remained a member until April, 1949. He was active in the Harvard Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* and was elected president of the Student Section of the National Lawyers' Guild at the national convention of the Guild

*See Appendix for citation.

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in the Spring of 1949. (100-401397-13)

A news article concerning an American Legion report on the Freedom Agenda stated that the report expressed the opinion that the six Freedom Agenda pamphlets were designed "to further the delusion that the danger of Communism is non-existent." In connection with the pamphlet Freedom of Speech and Press by Zechariah Chafco, Jr., it was pointed out that Chafco: "Signed the Rosenberg clemency petitions in 1953; submitted the amicus curiae brief to the U. S. Supreme Court in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo of the infamous 'Hollywood Ten'; sponsored appeals of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder*; signed petition opposing renewal of the Dies Committee; issued a statement defending the Communist Party in 1941 and protested the tabbing of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* as a Red-front in 1940."

New York Journal American,
August 23, 1955

In December, 1954, the Fund made a grant of \$5,000 to the Young Men's Christian Association for cooperation with the Freedom Agenda program, which was followed in February, 1955, by a grant of \$8,000 to the Young Women's Christian Association for the same purpose. In January, 1955, a grant of \$4,000 had gone to the Universalist Church of America for an educational program to be conducted jointly by the Universalist

*See Appendix for citation.

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Service Committee and the Council of Liberal Churches in cooperation with the Freedom Agenda program. In May, 1955, a grant of \$20,000 was made to the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches to promote discussion of civil liberties issues among the members of its affiliated churches.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 20, 26, 27

In the meantime, in February, 1955, a grant of \$50,000 had been made to the American Heritage Council, Chicago, Illinois, "for a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion." Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president, stated in the annual report of the Fund dated May 31, 1955, that Irving Breakstone, commander of the Illinois Department of The American Legion, called this educational effort a "positive approach to communism." Fulton Lewis, Jr., reported on his radio broadcast of September 2, 1955, that he had contacted the executive secretary of the American Heritage Council in Chicago, who had informed Lewis that there must be a typographical error, in that the wording always used by him and Breakstone was that the program was a "positive approach to Americanism." (100-391697-142)

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 24

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The executive committee of the Illinois Department of The American Legion, at a meeting in Bloomington, Illinois, on October 1, 1955, went on record as "repudiating and disowning any support of the . . . American Heritage Council, the Ford Foundation or The Fund for the Republic, or any of its programs."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 5, 1955

Study of Communist Influence in American Life

In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for an account of Communist influence in major segments of U. S. society. According to Dr. Hutchins, many public actions have been taken and many political reputations have been built on assumptions about what the Communists in the United States have been able to accomplish and what they are doing at the present time, and it therefore seemed useful to make some effort to discover whether or not these assumptions are well-founded. He said that the appropriation was made to carry out a definitive study of what the Communist Party has amounted to and what it amounts to now; what the successes and failures of Communists have been in various important segments of American life.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 28

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A study project committee was set up with Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University as director. Information concerning Rossiter has been set forth previously in connection with his membership on the committee studying the Communist record. The subject matter has been divided into twelve topics, under the over-all supervision of Rossiter and his assistant, William M. Goldsmith.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp.377

The Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York, on February 17, 1955, reported an interview with Professor Clinton L. Rossiter in which he stated it would be best not to employ, as writers, former members of the Communist Party who had been intimately connected with the particular fields and who had subsequently deserted the Party. He added, however, that ex-Communists would be extremely useful as sources of material, but felt that it would be unwise to use them as the sole sources and main figures in the project.

The Washington Daily News of October 19, 1955, reported that Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party who is still

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under a 1953 Federal indictment for perjury, was working as a paid "informant" on The Fund for the Republic project on the history of Communism.

The article also set forth that the Fund had issued a statement on behalf of Professor Rossiter which stated in part: "Mr. Browder is not an employee, a consultant, a staff member, a researcher or any other kind of employee or associate of the project or Fund." Rossiter, however, conceded that Browder was working for the project and was being paid "fairly well."

On October 6, 1955, Earl Browder testified before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (Eastland Committee) in Executive Session, which is conducting hearings relative to the "strategy and tactics of world Communism." Browder is reported to have been employed by Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who are preparing a history of the Communist movement in the United States for The Fund for the Republic, serving as a source of information for the development of the facts relative to this subject matter and at a salary of \$3,600 per year. It is reported that this salary is paid by the Fund through Bell. (Memo Roach to Belmont, 10/17/55)

Theodore Draper

One topic, History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945), is to be developed by Theodore Draper.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 37

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Draper started participating in Socialist activities as a youth but became interested in and sympathetic with Communism during his first year at City College of New York. He worked as assistant foreign editor of the Daily Worker, the east coast Communist newspaper, from 1934 to 1936, and as foreign editor of New Masses* from 1936 to 1939. After leaving New Masses he worked for a short time for TASS, the Russian news agency.

Daniel Bell

Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune and lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, was selected to develop the topic Communism in the Labor Movement. From 1941 to 1944, Bell was managing editor of The New Leader, which in 1941 described itself as the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in the United States. During the autumn quarter of 1947, Bell was faculty advisor of the Marxist Club at the University of Chicago, the stated purpose of which was to discuss, contrast and correlate Marxist methods in social science with other philosophies. Bell has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. In his speeches and writings he has criticized the Communist Party and Communist front groups. He wrote an essay The Development and Background of Marxian Socialism in the United States, which was included in a compendium Socialism and American Life, published in 1952 by the Princeton University Press. This compendium was edited by Donald Egbert, *See Appendix for citation.

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who is developing the topic Communism and the Arts for the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 37

In 1943 and in 1944 Bell spoke at mass meetings in New York City which were called to protest the jailing in Minneapolis of eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party* under the provisions of the Smith Act. (100-37551-63; 100-16-35-134)

Earl Latham, Amherst College, was selected to develop the topic Communism in Government. In December, 1941, the name E. G. Latham appeared as one of the signers of a letter from the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom* to the Governor of Oklahoma protesting the prosecution of Communists in Oklahoma for criminal syndicalism. (138-2818-7)

The other topics to be included in this study of Communist influence in American life, and the persons who will develop them are:

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1955)
David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University

Communism and Religion
Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

Communism and Education
Robert Iversen, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

* See Appendix for citation

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Communism and Literature

Daniel Aaron, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

Communism and the Mass Media

Moshe Decter, New York, New York

Communism and the Social Structure

Nathan Glazer, New York, New York

Communism and Science

Donald Fleming, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups

John Roche, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

In February, 1955, Clinton Rossiter stated that this series of books could be best completed by individuals who, for the most part, "stayed out of the arguments over Communism and McCarthyism." However, in 1954, Moshe Decter collaborated on a book entitled "McCarthy and the Communists," which criticized Senator McCarthy's investigating methods and the results thereof.

Cornell Daily Sun,
February 17, 1955.

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.

In November, 1954, The Fund for the Republic made a grant of \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a special committee to make an

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appraisal of the loyalty-security program of the Federal Government. The Fund claimed that it had been alleged that "the rights of individuals have been sacrificed to the demands of national security, that these demands are fantastically excessive, and that national security has not in fact been promoted by the measures adopted in its name."

Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 14, 24

As previously indicated, the material incorporated in Adam Yarmolinsky's book, Case Studies in Personnel Security, which is misleading and relatively worthless as a criterion for judgment, will be used by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York in connection with this study.

The special committee appointed by the Association includes lawyers outside of New York:

Dudley B. Bonsal, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt and Mosle, New York, New York

Bonsal was named chairman.

Elliott E. Cheatham, Professor of Law, Columbia University

Cheatham was named staff director. For approximately three months in 1934, Elliott Cheatham employed, as a research assistant, an individual who later served with the Loyalist Army

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during the Spanish Civil War. The files of another Government agency reflect that in a letter to the Secretary of War dated March 31, 1943, Cheatham characterized this individual as an "unusually able and competent young lawyer with leftist sympathies." He further stated: "I may add that I trust his left wing sympathies will not be deemed to disqualify him for a position of responsibility during the war. It would be unfortunate, so I believe, to the position of the Army in our national life and to immediate national unity, if the radicals and left wingers believed that they could not have an equal opportunity in our armed forces." (100-183625-2) (77-61265-9)

The remaining members of the special committee are:

Whitney North Seymour, Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett, New York, New York

According to the Articles of Incorporation of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, * Whitney Seymour was a temporary director in 1936. (61-6211-176 p.9)

In both 1937 and 1938, Whitney North Seymour was retained as an attorney by the International Labor Defense* to present a case before the United States Supreme Court. (61-7559-1046X8)

Daily Worker, February 9, 1937;
New York Daily Record, October 20,
1938

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Seymour was the guest speaker before the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* in 1937.

1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix-Part IX, p. 1270.

During 1937 and 1938, Seymour was on the board of directors of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.* (100-64700-271 p. 2052; 615 p. 1405)

Monte M. Lemann, Monroe and Lemann, New Orleans, Louisiana

Monte M. Lemann was a sponsor of conferences of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare* in 1940 and 1942. He was also a sponsor of the New Orleans Council of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship* from 1943 to 1947. In 1951, Lemann admitted that he had been affiliated with these organizations but immediately withdrew when he learned that they had been cited as subversive. (100-146964-182, 599, 1372; 121-30436-32; 100-10355-3 p. 45; 100-22712-27 p. 23)

[redacted] Tenney, Sherman, Bentley and Guthrie,
Chicago, Illinois

[redacted] Hogan and Hartson,
Washington, D. C.

[redacted] Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly and Hamilton,
New York, New York

[redacted] Burlingham, Hopper and Kennedy,
New York, New York

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[redacted] O'Melveny and Myers,
Los Angeles, California

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[redacted] Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts,
New York, New York

Blacklisting in Private Industry

Turning its attention to another aspect of the loyalty-security program, the Fund took cognizance of the fact that the policy against retaining persons in the Government service who are regarded as disloyal or as security risks has been extended to those private corporations which have Government contracts. It further noted that some industries in which there are no Government contracts have taken it upon themselves to institute comparable procedures. Choosing the field in which it said the practice has had the longest vogue, the entertainment industry, the Fund in September, 1954, authorized a project for a study of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries, appropriating \$100,000 for this purpose.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 16, 28

John Cogley

John Cogley, formerly executive editor of Commonweal, a lay Catholic magazine, was named director of this project. In

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developing the project, Cogley circulated a letter which stated, in part:

- (1) Does your organization hold that certain political criteria should be met by artists whom you engage, i. e., would you disapprove of hiring an artist
 - (a) named as a Communist by a Government agency?
 - (b) who was an "unfriendly witness" before a governmental investigating body?
 - (c) who stood on the Fifth Amendment before such a body?
 - (d) who has been listed in such private organs as Counterattack, Red Channels, Firing Line?
 - (e) who in the public mind, or at least before a goodly section of the public, is deemed "controversial"?

Here, again, the stress is on "political," when actually subversion and Communism are not political but a criminal movement to destroy by force and violence the Government of the United States.

(100-391697-96)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], [REDACTED] principal assistant on

the project, has participated in Socialist activities since at least 1953.

Reliable information has connected [REDACTED] with the activities of the

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Socialist Youth League*, the Independent Socialist League*, the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Socialist League.

In 1954 he worked for the Workers Defense League in New York City.
(100-411915-4, 5, 8; 100-344527-167, 124 pp 25, 26, 28, 35, 46, 77, 82)

[redacted]
In January, 1955, it was announced that [redacted]
a CIO and AFL union consultant and member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, was to be the representative on the West Coast for the survey on blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Hollywood Reporter,
January 6, 1955

[redacted] has stated that he was active in the Young Communist League* for about a year in 1933-1934, until he was expelled for engaging in Trotskyite activities. He has said that he was a Trotskyite for about a year following his expulsion from the (65-57981-12) Young Communist League, and acquaintances have described him as a former member of the Socialist Workers Party*. One acquaintance recalled that while at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, in 1937 she met a Trotskyite organizer, [redacted] who tried to recruit her for the Socialist Workers Party.

(65-57981-12; 100-1336-11, 38; 100-130754-1086 p. 14)

*See Appendix for citation.

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In a speech at Los Angeles, California, on March 14, 1953, Jacobs is reported to have (1) criticized FBI investigations; (2) complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949 for violation of the Smith Act and a fugitive in Mexico, was not afforded his constitutional rights when he was apprehended in Mexico and returned to the United States; (3) advised those filling out Civil Service forms and loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited organizations and if any trouble resulted to contact the American Civil Liberties Union immediately; (4) criticized investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warning that a citizen's refusal to answer questions concerning his past or present affiliation with the Communist Party always resulted in the loss of his job or reflected adversely upon securing future employment; and (5) stated that he could see no future for students unless they planned a well-organized demonstration of their feelings toward academic freedom and students' rights. (100-344527-92; 100-401403-3)

Representation by Counsel

American Friends Service Committee

According to the annual report of the Fund, among those who suffer from unusual legal difficulties are those who conscientiously

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differ with prevalent practices and policies. The conscientious objector to military service does not fare well in this country; nor does the person who conscientiously objects to taking an oath or to telling about the unpopular activities of his acquaintances. Therefore, in order to assist conscientious nonconformists and to help to establish their rights, the sum of \$150,000 was authorized in May, 1955, for a two-year program by the American Friends Service Committee to obtain legal representation in cases of conscience, to litigate dubious points in the law, and to provide economic assistance to defendants in certain instances.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1956, pp. 17, 24

In a statement issued in Philadelphia on November 15, 1953, the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee expressed concern over the Congressional investigation of Communism in the Philadelphia public school system, stating that his organization had been disturbed for some time by trends toward restricting the freedom of the individual. He said, in part: "Fear is too often our response to uncertainty. Loyalty oaths, legislative abuses of investigatory power, assumption of guilt until innocence is proved, implications of

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guilt through association, and denials of the free platform are some of the products of this fear."

The New York Times
November 18, 1953

According to the September 7, 1955, issue of the Daily Worker, the east coast Communist newspaper, the Chicago regional office of the American Friends Service Committee and the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union had undertaken to challenge the loyalty oath required of all state employees in Illinois. The article noted that the American Friends Service Committee was appealing to all state employees to resist the oath because, among other reasons, "it threatens the rights of all, including Communists." It was pointed out that the American Friends Service Committee would give financial assistance to those losing jobs because of refusal to sign the oath, part of the funds for this purpose coming from a grant from The Fund for the Republic.

This same article noted that Leon Katzen, acting secretary of the Civil Rights Congress* of Illinois, had hailed this challenge to the loyalty oath requirement "as another landmark in the growing movement to defend constitutional liberties."

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*See Appendix for Citation

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In September, 1955, it was reported that twenty-five pacifists had been arrested on charges of violating the New York State Defense Emergency Act in refusing to take shelter during an air raid drill on June 15, 1955. The pacifists called the state law an infringement of civil liberties. It was noted that counsel had been assigned to aid in their defense by the American Friends Service Committee, the funds for this purpose coming out of the \$150,000 grant to the Committee from The Fund for the Republic.

New York Daily News,
September 27, 1955

Cooperation with Bar Associations

The annual report of the Fund notes that the Fund is framing a general program of cooperation with bar associations in assisting defendants to obtain counsel, particularly in cases in which civil liberties are involved. In September, 1953, a grant of \$40,000 was made to the Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Massachusetts "to provide counsel to indigent defendants in criminal courts." In February, 1955, a grant of \$5,000 was made to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for the aid of "unpopular" defendants.

Report of the Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, 17, 24

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Special Awards

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For the stated purpose of dramatizing the progress made in upholding civil liberties, the Fund gives prizes to persons, organizations and communities that have distinguished themselves by the stand they have taken. In March, 1955, an award of \$5,000 was given to the University Young Women's Christian Association of Westwood, California, "for the maintenance of an open platform in the vicinity of the University of California at Los Angeles." A \$10,000 award was made in March, 1955, to the Civic Area Committee of the Waverly, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce for constructive action in racial relations, because of the efforts of the community on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 22, 25, 27

In May, 1955, the Fund appropriated \$100,000 to be used for special awards for distinguished service to civil liberties.

One such award is described in the following paragraphs.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 30

William Jeanes Memorial Library Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

Mary G. Knowles is employed as a librarian at the William Jeanes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania,

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which is operated by the Society of Friends. On June 22, 1955, the library received a \$5,000 award from The Fund for the Republic for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" for hiring Knowles and refusing to discharge her despite the fact she invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, and was described by Herbert Philbrick, former FBI informant who testified before the Subcommittee, as having been a Communist Party member. (100-338613)

The New York Times,
June 23, 1955

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 16, 1955

This award has been criticized editorially as a "startling example of the sentimental approach to the security problem" and as an imposition upon taxpayers to be called upon, through the device of tax-exempt money controlled by the Fund, to subsidize an award to a library for hiring a woman who refused to testify before a Senate Committee.

Saturday Evening Post,
July 30, 1955

The (Washington) Evening Star,
September 16, 1955

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Sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised that Mary G. Knowles registered as a Communist Party* member in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1943; was a Communist Party member from 1944 to 1945; was secretary of the school branch of the Communist Party in 1947 and attended Communist Party meetings in 1948. She was an instructor at the Samuel Adams School*, Boston, in 1944, and was secretary of the school from 1947 to 1948. She was reported as a member of the International Workers Order* in 1949. (100-338613; [BS TS-1; BS TS-20] Herbert Philbrick; anon source; [u] 1947 & 1948 catalogs of S Adams Sch; [redacted]) b7D

Knowles testified before a public session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on September 15, 1955, at Washington, D. C. She refused to tell the Subcommittee whether she had ever been a Communist, basing her refusal on the ground the Subcommittee had no jurisdiction to question her concerning such matters as she was in possession of no pertinent information concerning subversion. Knowles, however, stated she was not then a Communist and had not been a Communist Party member for at least six years.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 16, 1955

*See Appendix for Citation.

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A source in a position to furnish reliable information in this matter advised that township supervisors at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, held a meeting on September 21, 1955, and voted not to accept the award to the library from The Fund for the Republic. The money was placed in escrow. (Source was individual connected with library whose identity should not be disclosed; 100-338613)

Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid

The Fund for the Republic has established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid "in order to turn the attention of scholars to problems of special concern to the Fund and to aid those already working in the field."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 40

Eleanor Bontecou, Washington, D. C.

Eleanor Bontecou received an award to complete a book about the Federal loyalty-security program. In her book, The Federal Loyalty-Security Program which was published in 1953, Bontecou criticized the operation of the loyalty-security program. (memo re Bontecou dated 9/9/55 in 100-391697)

David Fellman, University of Wisconsin

David Fellman received a grant or fellowship for a non-technical book on American civil liberties. The May 27, 1948, edition of

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the Daily Cardinal, a University of Wisconsin student newspaper, stated that Fellman was one of fifty-nine professors who had signed a petition in a drive to defeat the Mundt anti-Communist bill. (124-7990-15 p. 7) ✓

Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University

Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., received assistance in the preparation of a study of the government security program.

Walter Gellhorn, School of Law, Columbia University

Walter Gellhorn received an award for research assistance in preparing the 1950 Edward Douglass White lectures. Information regarding Gellhorn has been previously set forth in connection with his work in the production of the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties.

J. A. C. Grant, University of California

J.A.C. Grant received a grant to complete a study on "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of a crime. The April 25, 1945, issue of Variety, a theatrical publication, contained an article which stated that the Hollywood Writers Mobilization* was publishing plans for a conference to be held the following month. The name of Dr. J.A.C. Grant was listed among the University of California faculty members added to the organization's steering committee for the event. (121-30375-6)

*See Appendix for citation.

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Morton Grodzins, University of Chicago

Morton Grodzins received a grant to assist in his study of the extreme right in America.

Harold Hyman, Earlham College

Harold Hyman received a grant for a book on oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty.

Milton R. Konvitz, Cornell University

Milton R. Konvitz received a grant to complete a book First Amendment Freedoms.

Professor Milton R. Konvitz of Cornell University reportedly told an American Jewish Congress forum on civil liberties that "Congressional inquisitions have induced fear and bitterness, if not hysteria and panic among teachers." (100-384660-53 p. 25)

Pamphlet: Rights, Vol. I, March, 1954.
Published by Emergency Civil Liberties
Committee

Speaking before the annual plenary session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 18, 1955, Konvitz attacked congressional investigating procedures and championed "nonconformism."

The New York Times, June 10, 1955

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Konvitz allegedly was a member of the Legislative Council
of the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* in 1941-1942.
(Source: Bureau of Spec. Services, NYC Pol. Dept., 121-38909-13 p. 13)
Edwin Sanders, executive secretary of the American Friends Service
Committee in Pasadena, California

Edwin Sanders received a grant to make a study of interference
with religious freedom in California.

Edward Shils, University of Chicago

Edward Shils received a grant to complete a book on the loyalty-
security program. Information regarding Shils has been previously set forth
in connection with the distribution by the Fund of the special issue of the
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

James M. Smith, Ohio State University

James M. Smith, received a grant to complete a book, Freedom's
Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

Malcolm Smith, University of California
Cornelius Cotter, Stanford University

Malcolm Smith and Cornelius Cotter received a grant for a study
of emergency powers vested in the President and their potential effect on civil
liberties.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Stanford University School of Law

Claiming that the accepted view of Communist activity in the United States rests in a large part on evidence given by a small number of witnesses, The Fund for the Republic, in May, 1955, made a grant of \$25,000 to the Stanford University School of Law to "assemble the statements of the most important of these witnesses and to make an objective analysis and critical summary of them."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 14, 27

The Fund announced that the study would be conducted under the direction of Herbert Packer of the New York and Supreme Court Bars, who would work in Washington, D. C., until January 1, 1956, when he would join the Stanford faculty.

The following appeared in a recent issue of Human Events:

"The Fund itself will have effective control of the Stanford project, since it is to be directed by Herbert Packer, a Fund payrollee who worked for several months earlier this year on the highly-questionable Yarmolinsky report on individual loyalty security case histories, another Fund project."

Human Events, September 24, 1955.

According to the same issue of Human Events, the arrangement was concluded with Carl B. Spaeth, Dean of the Stanford Law School, who is

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described as being "widely known as an ultra-liberal." In his radio broadcast of September 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that Spaeth had made the arrangement without the consent of the board of directors of Stanford University. In his broadcast of August 22, 1955, Lewis stated that the study had been offered to various universities over the East, particularly Catholic ones, all of whom turned it down on the grounds that it obviously was nothing more than an attempt to discredit those witnesses and help the Communist cause. (100-391697-151, 161)

In his radio broadcast of August 30, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that at the beginning of World War II, Spaeth moved to Washington, D. C., where he went to work for the Department of State and became a "great friend of the Alger Hiss, Lawrence Duggan, Sumner Welles clique."

Alger Hiss testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 16, 1948. In reply to a question as to whether or not he knew an individual named Carl between 1934 and 1937, Hiss stated, "I think I know two or three people named Carl, one of whom I certainly know, I would think, as far back as 1937--Carl Spaeth."

Hearings (1948) before the Subcommittee
on Legislation of the Committee on Un-
American Activities, House of Representa-
tives, 80th Congress, 2nd Session,
Volume I (p. 938)

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In January, 1949, Spaoth stated that during 1947 he came to know Alger Hiss intimately and he had many long discussions with him, but stated that he had no knowledge of Communist activity on the part of Hiss.

(105-7411-5)

Spaoth attended the 11th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations* held at Lucknow, India, October 3-14, 1950, as a member of the United States delegation. (100-64700-736)

The Stanford University School of Law received an additional \$5,000 grant from the Fund in May, 1955, to finance a summer study on a civil liberties topic by members of the Stanford Law Review.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 27

Television :

In presenting its program of popular education, the Fund has not neglected the medium of television. Two competitions in the field of television have been announced. In December, 1954, \$75,000 was appropriated for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. In May, 1955, \$65,000 was authorized for awards to outstanding dramatic and documentary television shows already on the air.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

*See Appendix for citation.

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✓ The Daily Worker issue of September 16, 1955, reflected the following awards by the Fund for original television scripts:

"Drama Class

"First prize--\$5,000. The Conspirators by Lillian Schocn Andrews. The story of Elijah Lovejoy, the abolitionist editor of Alton, Ill., who was murdered for insisting on an editor's right to conduct his newspaper as he sees fit.

"Second prize--\$2,500. We Can't Be the First, by Jo Sinclair. A Jewish family living in a two-family house in a small Ohio city grapples with the problem of whether to rent half of the house to Negroes who badly need a home.

"Other prizes--\$750 each:

"The Invisible Accuser by Robert Spencer Carr. The fight of a woman surgeon to clear herself of charges brought against her as the result of a loyalty check.

"Typhoon by Leo Goldman. - Resentment against Negroes by white personnel of a hospital ship, following their integration in the same naval unit.

"The General's Other Son by Andrew McCullough. A three-star general's struggle to accept the fact that his son is a conscientious objector.

"The Burden of the Day by John W. McGrovey. A prominent lawyer takes on the defense of a former Communist, knowing his act will end his political hopes.

"The Claw in the Cat's Paw by Jean F. Merrill. The smear of a teacher as a Communist by economy-minded citizens to forestall spending for school improvements.

"Over the Fourth by William O'Toole. The production of a Fourth of July pageant gets unexpected help from the ghosts of Hamilton, Pinckney, Henry and Washington.

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"The Pencil Box War by Rose Leiman Schiller. An old storekeeper decides to attend high school but is opposed by townspeople and parents of students.

"Outpost by J. G. Sovern. A Negro soldier in the Korean War, constantly baited by a white sergeant, proves himself to be the better man under fire.

"Boden's Grave by Marian C. Skedgell. A son goes home to bury his father and discovers he had never before understood his father's position as a reformer.

"The Inner Curtain by Victor Ullman. A practical joke involving communism at a large industrial plant ultimately forces the perpetrator of the joke to design.

"Documentary Class

"First Prize--\$5,000. Popito by Burton and James Benjamin. A factual account of the experience of a 15-year-old Puerto Rican boy during his first few days in N. Y. C.

"Six additional prizes of \$1,500 each:

"The Yankee Rebels by Lew Andrews. Three hundred years of American history, seen through the eyes of a contemporary milkman in Concord, Mass.

"The Music He Heard by J. F. Breg. A factual account of the life of Albert Einstein and his fight for the 'freedom for all men to be true to themselves.'

"A Minority of One by Mrs. Kristin E. Hunter. Desegregation in Camden, N. J., through the true situation of the only white student in a class of Negroes.

"Shield of the Republic by Clayre and Michel Lipman. An account of the first case in which the Supreme Court established its right to review legislation.

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"Natural Boundaries by Muriel O'Donnell. Integration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in an Italian neighborhood through the Police Athletic League.

"The America of Walt Whitman by Hugh Gorman Whittington. Dramatization of excerpts bearing on civil liberties from Whitman's Leaves of Grass."

In September, 1954, \$200,000 was authorized for production of pilot films and for participation in television programs of interest to the Fund. In this connection, it is stated in the annual report that the Fund has employed television in a small experiment on the Pacific Coast, where short motion pictures "of events in the current history of freedom" are supplied to television newscasters, and is planning to extend this venture to other parts of the country.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

Herbert L. Block

In May, 1955, \$200,000 was authorized for a fifteen-minute weekly television series featuring Herblock (Herbert L. Block), cartoonist of The Washington Post and Times Herald.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

In the past, Block has drawn satirical cartoons concerning security-type investigations of Government employees.

The Washington Post,
December 30, 1947; September 6, 1951

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past reported that Block, in an address before a civil liberties group on

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April 5, 1954, called the Communist-in-Government issue "complete and utter nonsense." [redacted], Philadelphia 61-190-468)

According to another reliable source, a provision in the original contract between Block and The Fund for the Republic that the cartoons and other work of Block were not to be used for political purposes was crossed out by Dr. Hutchins prior to the signing of the contract.

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[redacted] 100-391697-188, 190)
On October 14, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund issued a statement that the proposed television series featuring Block had been canceled when it became apparent that it would not be practical to limit Block's field of discussion to the boundaries set out by the charter of the Fund.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 14, 1955

Commission on Race and Housing

In November, 1954, The Fund for the Republic authorized a grant of \$100,000 to establish a Commission on Race and Housing to look into the question of whether or not "minorities, particularly Negroes, encounter serious obstacles in finding places to live or in building new homes."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 19, 29

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Among the members of this commission are the following persons:

Gordon W. Allport, Professor of psychology, Harvard University

Allport has participated, either as a sponsor or the signer of a letter, in the activities of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo*¹, the Council for Pan-American Democracy*², the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship*³, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions*⁴, the National Emergency Conference*⁵, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*⁶.

(61-7582-1298 p. 668)

1. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix-Part IX,

(100-73597-8 p. 24)

2. Daily Worker, October 20, 1942

(100-73597-8 p. 38)

3. Boston Globe, November 5, 1948

(121-23278-267X12
p. 160)

4. Hearings (1950) before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, on State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, Part I

(61-7582-1298 p. 1206)

5. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix-Part IX

6. Daily Worker, September 24, 1940

*See Appendix for citation.

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Allport, in 1947, was one of 87 persons who opposed Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach's proposal to outlaw the Communist Party¹ and in 1950, he signed a petition calling for the abolition of the Massachusetts Legislative Committee to Curb Communism.²

(100-73597-8 p. 30) 1. Daily Worker, March 17, 1947

(100-73597-8 p. 32) 2. Boston Globe, November 28, 1950

Allport has reportedly participated in the activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, * the American League for Peace and Democracy, * the American Student Union, * the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts, * the John Reed Clubs of the United States, * the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy* and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, * either as a member, sponsor, or in a fund-raising capacity. (100-73597-8, 12; 61-7565-176)

Allport has advised another Government agency that he was a member of the Socialist Party until 1941. (Source G-2, 100-73597-16 p. 2)

LaIRD Bell, attorney, Chicago, Illinois

An article in the April 26, 1951, issue of the Chicago Daily News announced that Bell was one of twelve prominent men who opposed the passage of the Broyles Bills in the Illinois Legislature. The Broyles Bills were proposed anti-Communist legislation. (77-64408-29)

*See Appendix for citation.

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In his radio broadcast of September 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that Bell defended Alger Hiss and had been a violent opponent of congressional committees investigating Communist and other subversive activities as far back as the Dies Committee. (94-4-2189-195)

Bell was a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)* in the late 1930's and early 1940's. He contributed \$25 to the IPR in 1937, 1939, and 1942. (77-64408-29; 100-64700-271 pp. 1077, 2479)

Peter Grimm, chairman of the board and director, William A. White and Sons, New York City

Grimm was a sponsor of a dinner held by the American Russian Institute* in New York City.

(16-7582-1298 p. 1097)

1944 Report, Special Committee on
Un-American Activities, Appendix-
Part IX

Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

In December, 1951, Charles S. Johnson admitted that he had been active in the Southern Negro Youth Congress* and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare* and had been on the advisory committees of both organizations. He stated, however, that he was opposed to the activities of subversive interests which attempted to control these organizations. (123-12551-28 p. 5)

*See Appendix for citation.

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[redacted] chairman of the board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois

In 1949, [redacted] criticized the Government's loyalty program, stating that an employee is placed on trial on a serious charge without being given sufficient information to enable him to answer the charges or intelligently defend himself. (121-1521-27, letter to Mathew Connelly, Presidential secretary referred to Bureau by Connelly.)

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House and Home, New York, New York

Luce has been identified as a member of the board of trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)* from 1938 to 1949 and was one of four vice-chairmen of the IPR in 1949. During the period from 1931-1942, Luce contributed over \$11,000 to the IPR. (100-64700-1217 p. 14; 77-54878-23 p. 6)

Francis T. P. Plimpton, attorney, New York City

According to the 1954-1955 edition of Who's Who in America, Francis T. P. Plimpton is a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The remaining members of the Commission on Race and Housing are:

Chairman; Earl B. Schwabert

chairman of the board, president and trustee of the Drovers Savings Bank, New York, New York

Elliott V. Bell

chairman, executive committee, and director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.; editor and publisher, Business Week, New York, New York

*See Appendix for citation.

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Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, C. S. C.,

director of the University of Notre
Dame Foundation, South Bend,
Indiana

Charles Keller, Jr.

president, Keller Construction
Corporation, New Orleans, Louisiana

Clark Kerr

chancellor, University of California
at Berkeley

Stanley Marcus

president, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas,
Texas

H. C. McClellan

president, Old Colony Paint and
Chemical Company, Los Angeles,
California

✓ Ward Melville

president, Melville Shoe Corporation,
New York, New York

R. Stewart Rauch, Jr.

president, The Philadelphia Savings
Fund Society, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania

Robert R. Taylor

secretary and executive director,
Illinois Federal Savings and Loan
Association, Chicago, Illinois

Study of Fear in Education

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized a study of attitudes
of college and high school teachers. According to Dr. Hutchins, it is
widely believed that teachers in schools, colleges and universities have
been intimidated by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from

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the Cold War. \$150,000 has been appropriated for this study to determine if this is true.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 20

The director of the study project committee for this investigation is Paul F. Lazarsfeld, professor of Sociology at Columbia University, who has been mentioned previously in connection with Samuel A. Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties. The codirector is Louis Harris, a partner in Elmer Roper & Associates, New York, New York.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 30

A four-member advisory committee for this study is composed of:

Helen M. Lynd, professor of social philosophy, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York

Helen Lynd was identified in the August 13, 1950, issue of the newsletter Counterattack as one of six professors who wanted to testify on behalf of eight teachers who were suspended by the New York City Board of Education for conduct unbecoming their profession when they refused to state whether or not they were members of the Communist Party.

(100-350512-361)

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Lynd's name has appeared, either as a signer of petitions or as a sponsor, in connection with the activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born*¹, Committee for Defense of Public Education*², p. 354) League of American Writers*³, Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace*⁴, and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.*⁵ (100-357382-2)

1. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Appendix-Part IX
2. Daily Worker, December 10, 1940
3. Daily Worker, April 5, 1941
4. Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 1934, April 26, 1950 (originally released April 19, 1949)
5. The New York Times, March 3, 1945; The Washington Post, March 21, 1945

Sources which have furnished reliable information in the past have identified Lynd as having participated, either as a member or as a sponsor, in the activities of the American Committee to Save Refugees,* (100-7061-115 p. 10) the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions,* (100-197270-21) and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.* (100-357382-2)

*See Appendix for citation.

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Marie Jahoda, professor of psychology, New York University

Marie Jahoda is reported to have been a youth leader of the Social Democratic Party in Austria during the early 1930's. (123-14980-16)

Samuel A. Stouffer, director, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University

Samuel A. Stouffer has been mentioned previously.

Frank Stanton, president, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, New York

Other Activities

Freedom of Expression

Because, in its opinion, the authority of the Post Office Department to interfere with freedom of expression is very great, and the Department has lately shown a disposition to exercise this authority, the Fund believes that an objective analysis of the powers and conduct of the Post Office Department with reference to freedom of expression is called for. In May, 1955, \$35,000 was authorized for a study of Post Office interference with the flow of information and opinion.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 17, 30

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On September 23, 1955, it was announced that the Fund had granted \$30,000 to the Institute of Legal Research of the University of Pennsylvania Law School to study how the government intercepts non-mailable matter. According to the announcement, the study will concern government action against obscene publications, foreign political propaganda and other such material.

Daily News (New York) ,
September 27, 1955

Columbia University received a grant of \$3,000 in April, 1954, for a pilot study by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of current situations involving pressures on local educational institutions. An additional grant of \$15,300 was authorized in June, 1954, for preparation by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of a program for a study of extremist groups. In this connection, it is to be noted that in June, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$100,700 under a project for research and planning of a study of extremist groups.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 25, 28

The Fund, claiming that one of the difficulties of teachers in colleges and universities is the widespread ignorance of the laws and practices

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affecting their rights, made a grant of \$10,000 to the Academic Freedom Project of Columbia University in April, 1955. This grant is to be used to make a pilot study of the acquisition and termination of tenure in the higher institutions of California, Illinois and Pennsylvania. Clark Byse, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, and Louis Joughin, assistant director of the American Civil Liberties Union, were named co-directors of the project.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 10, 25

According to the annual report, the Fund has cooperated with various national organizations in reporting and analyzing attacks on freedom of expression. It has supported the American Library Association's Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom with a grant of \$6,000 authorized in November, 1954, and in February, 1955, authorized \$9,000 to be used by the National Book Committee for a preliminary exploration of the theory of the right to publish and to read.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 10, 24, 25

The Fund is assisting an effort under the leadership of J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of The Washington Post and Times Herald, whereby

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representatives of all the media of communication that use the printed word may make a concerted attack on the problem of censorship. The project, Commission on Censorship and Related Matters, was authorized in May, 1955, with an appropriation of \$5,000 for a discussion of a commission concerned with all aspects of censorship of the printed word.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 10, 17, 30

On October 9, 1955, a \$5,000 grant to determine the feasibility of a study of the American Press' performance during the 1950 presidential campaign was announced by the Fund. The grant was made to the Association for Education in Journalism and the project will be undertaken by an affiliated group, the Council on Communications Research. The announcement of the grant stated that the Fund, had stipulated, in making the grant, that it is not committed to support such a study but is interested in examining the council's ultimate report.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 10, 1955

Immigrants and Aliens

According to the annual report of the Fund, the difficulties that beset immigrants and aliens in the United States appear to have been growing

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more numerous and more serious "since the War." The legal assistance that is required is specialized and hard to find. In June, 1954, the Fund made a grant of \$15,000 to the Common Council for American Unity for the purpose of "enabling it to go to the rescue of aliens and immigrants caught in the machinery of the law." In May, 1955, the Fund made a second grant of \$32,500 to permit the Common Council for American Unity to assemble and describe 2,000 cases affecting aliens with which it has dealt.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 20

Racial Discrimination

In April, 1954, the Fund authorized a grant of \$240,000 to the Southern Regional Council to strengthen its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and to staff twelve state affiliates with full-time professional personnel to work in expanding community education in intergroup relations. In January, 1954, a \$5,000 grant had been made to the Southern Regional Council for preparation and distribution of a summary of the book, The Negro and the Schools.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 27

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The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago received a grant of \$10,000 in June, 1954, and an additional grant of \$8,000 in May, 1955, to expand a program for reducing interracial tensions, i. e., to help it to mitigate the acute racial tension which, according to the Fund report, had developed in Trumbull Park, Chicago.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 25

In November, 1954, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., was given a grant of \$10,000 for the work of its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations in its efforts to solve problems arising in the border states out of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring segregated schools unconstitutional.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 23

The American Friends Service Committee, with the aid of the Fund, is working on the economic situation of the Indians in the Southwest, of Negroes in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina, and on difficulties in the schools of Washington, D. C., that have followed the decision of the Supreme Court. For this work, the American Friends Service Committee received a grant of \$55,000 in June, 1953, and an additional

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grant of \$63,500 in June, 1954. These sums are in addition to the \$155,000 received in May, 1955, for other activities which are described elsewhere.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 24

According to the annual report of the Fund, the Public Education Association of New York City, at the request of the Board of Education, is studying racial segregation and educational discrimination in the schools of New York City. The Fund is helping to finance this investigation by a grant of \$10,000 authorized in May, 1955. It is alleged that this investigation is the only one of the sort now being conducted in a northern community and will seek to answer such questions as: Is there a deliberate attempt to segregate children in city schools? Are Negro and Puerto Rican children given the same educational opportunities that other children in New York City receive? What can be done to promote integration? The Board of Education has appointed a commission which is to examine the results and make recommendations for action.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 19, 23

On October 6, 1955, it was announced that Vanderbilt University's law school would set up an "impartial and objective" legal reporting service

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in the field of race relations. This service, to be financed by a \$200,000 grant from the Fund, will report on court decisions, administrative regulations and laws dealing with race relations.

New York Herald Tribune,
October 7, 1955

On October 7, 1955, it was announced that the Methodist Board of Social and Economic Relations had accepted a \$25,000 grant from the Fund, to be used for interracial study conferences, workshops, work camps and educational projects.

The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),
October 7, 1955

Popular Education

For the stated purpose of arousing interest in civil liberties, to explain their importance, and to describe their conditions at the present time, the Fund appropriated \$20,000 in April, 1955, for work in civil liberties with labor unions. In April, 1954, it authorized \$35,000 to be used by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools for a radio series on problems confronting public schools, and in May, 1955, it authorized \$5,000 to be used by the American Friends Service Committee to finance radio programs on civil liberties topics. Earlier, in September, 1953, \$40,000 had been

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granted Columbia University in connection with its bicentennial celebration, the theme of which was "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." This grant was used to prepare and distribute material pertaining to the Bicentennial, including a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," radio programs, and a pamphlet series.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 24, 25, 26, 30

In September, 1954, an editorial award competition project was authorized for awards to publications for distinguished contributions on topics of interest to the Fund; \$100,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 29

The FBI and the American Legion

David Lawrence, in his column of August 23, 1955, captioned "Investigating the Investigators," stated that judging from the annual report of The Fund for the Republic it appeared that the organization was "primarily interested in investigating the investigators- the persons and institutions who recognize that a Communist conspiracy has existed in the United States and still exists."

The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.),
August 23, 1955

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Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on August 22, 1955, reported (100-391697-151) that the Fund was trying to find some college to serve as a "front" in making an investigation of the FBI and The American Legion. He again mentioned this in his broadcast on August 26, 1955, reporting that he had been informed that a project was under consideration by the Fund to investigate both The American Legion and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on the grounds that "they endanger personal rights and freedoms of individuals."

Similar allegations have appeared subsequently in the news, both in newspapers and on the radio.

Paul Harvey News, August 28, 1955;
Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News,
September 3, 1955, September 21, 1955;
Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 4, 1955;
Human Events, September 24, 1955

As a matter of fact, on August 15, 1955, it was reported confidentially that Wilbur H. Ferry, vice-president of the Fund, had commented that The Fund for the Republic was going to have an investigation made of the FBI and that he would like to have a good Catholic law school undertake such an investigation. He also mentioned that the Fund was going to have an investigation made into the activities of The American Legion.

(Irving Ferman to
Mr. Nichols: 100-420181-1)

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On October 6, 1955, another source reported that he had heard from a person working on a Fund project that the Fund was going to allocate a rather large sum of money to investigate the FBI and was looking for personnel to conduct the inquiry. (Morris Ernst to Mr. Nichols per memo to Mr. Tolson 10/8/55).

On October 8, 1955, information was received that although some individuals on the staff of The Fund for the Republic were urging an investigation of the FBI, the matter of a grant of funds to conduct such an investigation had not as yet come before the board of directors. (Irving Ferman to Mr. Nichols per memo to Mr. Tolson 10/8/55)

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PART V

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CRITICISM OF FUND

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Nature of Criticism

Since its inception, The Fund for the Republic has been the subject of numerous comments from columnists and broadcasters including such well-known individuals as David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Walter Winchell; from Members of Congress such as Representative B. Carroll Reece and Senator John W. Bricker; from the National Commander of The American Legion; and from the editorial staffs of newspapers throughout the United States.

The vast majority of these reviews have severely criticized the Fund for :

1. Its assumption that the Communist Party, USA, is not a dangerous threat to the security of the United States, but merely another political party akin to the Democratic and Republican Parties.
2. Its apparent interest in "investigating the investigators"-- Congressional committees and other governmental investigative organizations.
3. It offers no solution to security problems.
4. Its activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than a tax-exempt foundation.
5. The similarity of its program in many respects to that of the Communist Party, USA, thus indirectly aiding the aims and purposes of the Party.

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The following items are summations of public utterances made by the above-mentioned individuals under these five categories. Additionally, under point number five, based upon previous material in this monograph setting forth in the form of statements, objectives, products and plans of The Fund for the Republic, the reader may wish to appraise a portion of the Communist Party line as portrayed in the Party press during the period immediately preceding the incorporation of the Fund in December, 1952, and more recent statements appearing in 1955.

Communist Party, USA, Is Not a Menace

On September 11, 1955, the National Commander of The American Legion, Seaborn P. Collins, assailed The Fund for the Republic and its president, Robert M. Hutchins, and called upon legionnaires "to have no truck with" activities sponsored by the Fund. Collins stated that "...By shrewd grants and expenditures, The Fund for the Republic is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security. One apparent line of attack is to attempt to persuade Americans that communism is not, and never has been, a serious threat to the United States." Collins added that "This propaganda is considered by the American Legion to be as dangerous as it is untrue," and that "...With Hutchins at the helm the fund is tending...toward elimination

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of restrictions on those who seek to destroy our freedoms."

New York Mirror, September 12, 1955.
The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 12, 1955

On October 9, 1955, the national executive committee of The American Legion accepted a report severely critical of The Fund for the Republic. According to an Associated Press article of October 10, 1955, a summary of this report, drawn up by the Legion's publications commission, said the Fund "has been spending its money largely on projects and individuals which have definite left-wing biases." Regarding Hutchins, the summary states that he "has never at any time shown the slightest interest in, or concern over, Communist subversion..." The summary points out that "Nowhere in any project or activity of the Fund is there a hint that the objectives of Communists include the destruction of all civil liberties. Communists are treated merely as non-conformists, not as conspirators."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 10, 1955

In commenting upon this action by The American Legion, the Los Angeles Examiner stated:

"The root of the controversy is that the Legion is dedicated to Americanism and is vigorously anti-Communist, while the

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Fund for the Republic has been accused of coddling radicalism, of opposing congressional investigations into subversion and of discrediting the Federal security program."

"Behind the entire controversy lies a mortal conflict--conflict between 'liberals' who would tolerate Communists as an abused political party, and those who view Communism as an international conspiracy which seeks to subvert our Government.

"No one should deny that the second view is the right one."

Los Angeles Examiner, September 14, 1955
(100-391697-A)

Despite this criticism, evidence that the Fund intends to continue its previous methods was shown, when on September 15, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund circulated a release defending its aims and work against The American Legion charges. The board stated in part that since its inception, it has regarded the sphere of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights and has taken as its basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. This release also stated that from the beginning the board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat, according to this release, was the "grave danger" to civil liberties in methods that "may be used" to meet the threat.

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This release of the Fund reaffirmed the board's faith in its purposes and completed projects.

Press Release of The Fund for the Republic,
September 15, 1955

On October 6, 1955, United States Attorney Leo A. Rover, speaking before the Northeast Council of Citizens Associations in Washington, D. C., warned delegates of an "'insidious movement' attempting to portray the Communist Party as a political party such as the Republican and Democrat." Rover said the movement has emanated through various facilities including The Fund for the Republic. He stated that he thinks that there is definitely an "anti-Communist propaganda movement in the wind," and that in a recent Fund for the Republic statement, it was pretty clearly stated that the Communist Party was only a political party. Rover pointed out that the courts have ruled that the Communist Party is revolutionary.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 7, 1955

Russell Turner, a staff assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr., produced an article regarding the Fund provocatively titled, "Fund for Which Republic?" in which he stated that evidence, accumulated during the Fund's two and one-half years of actual operation, shows conclusively that its true objectives

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are to convince gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-Communism wherever it may crop up. Turner asserted that the evidence is that it would

1. put an end to every form of personnel security program, in or out of government;
2. have the country accept at face value the self-appraisal of the Communist Party, USA, as simply a domestic political movement, despite legislative, executive and judicial findings that it is a subversive conspiracy directed from Moscow and designed to overthrow our Government.

Human Events, Washington, D. C.,
September 24, 1955

"Investigate the Investigators"

On August 30, 1955, George Sokolsky referred to books, articles and other material distributed by The Fund for the Republic "...with the object of influencing public opinion." The list included such titles as Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight, a special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Government by Investigation by Alan Barth, et cetera.

Sokolsky stated that the list is all one-sided. "It is anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees investigating subversives. Certainly any citizens can be anti-FBI

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and anti-Congressional committees. But the question arises: if rich corporations can set up tax-free foundations to propagate a particular point of view, is there not a possibility of limiting freedom of debate because no tax-free money is available for another point of view?"

George E. Sokolsky, Boston American,
August 30, 1955
(100-391697-A).

On September 24, 1955, he commented on the Report of The Fund for the Republic dated May 31, 1955, stating, "What this report of the Fund for the Republic indicates to me... is that the Fund, as an action organization, is attempting to use the \$15,000,000 that the Ford Foundation has given it, to take over the work of the Congressional committees and to smother all anti-Communist investigations and activities. If that is its intention, it will fail. If that is not its intention, why interfere with the Congressional committees?"

New York Journal American,
September 24, 1955

David Lawrence on August 23, 1955, stated that, judging from the annual report of The Fund for the Republic which had just been issued, it appeared that the organization was primarily interested in "investigating the investigators--the persons and institutions who recognize that a

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Communist conspiracy has existed in the United States and still exists."

Lawrence also alleged that The Fund for the Republic and its president, Robert M. Hutchins, are biased in their opinions and have made considerable effort to persuade others to follow the opinion of The Fund for the Republic.

New York Herald Tribune, August 23, 1955

No Solution to Security Problems

In August, 1955, Dorothy Thompson reviewed the report of The Fund for the Republic and criticized it strongly for offering no solution to its primary goal of advancing the understanding of civil liberties. Thompson said that the "squeamish" document exhibits a lack of both intellectual clarity and civil courage and that in this document the Fund has brought forth a "timid, rather pinkish mouse." While Dorothy Thompson stated that she had long doubted that congressional committees inquiring into the beliefs of individuals were an effective means of combating Communism, she had hoped that the Fund would suggest a more effective means of combating the chief enemy of civil liberties in this country and throughout the world while upholding the great traditions of Western society.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
August 26, 1955

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Political and Propaganda Agency

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast, May 22, 1955, stated that he had some interesting information on "the new activities of the highly-suspect-and-getting-more-so Fund for the Republic," which he felt would bear careful attention by his listeners "because this is a new kind of curve ball from the left wing." Lewis added that The Fund for the Republic had supported one questionable project after another, consistently. Lewis also stated that this was the organization that financed the circulation of Edward R. Murrow's one-hour "glorification" of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after Oppenheimer's security clearance had been removed by the Atomic Energy Commission. Lewis also stated that The Fund for the Republic was distributing books to Federal judges and that in doing so was making an attempt at political and ideological lobbying and that this activity was being financed "by money that really belongs to you and me." (Memo Belmont to Boardman, 9/6/55, "Fund for the Republic") JGL:pyp

On June 8, 1955, George Sokolsky stated that The Fund for the Republic has been antagonistic to all Congressional investigations and investigators, has teams all over the country ostensibly investigating the Communists but actually seeking to discover what active anti-Communists have been doing. He further pointed out that the Fund has also become

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engaged in the free distribution of books, pamphlets, newspaper articles, et cetera. One phase of political propaganda is the uninvited, unsolicited, unpaid for distribution of material on one side of a question with the object of influencing public opinion. He stated that the Fund has sent such material to clergymen, college presidents and Federal judges, among others.

New York Journal American, June 8, 1955
(100-391697-A)

On July 21, 1955, Representative B. Carroll Reece reminded Congress that the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations had, during the Eighty-third Congress, "expressed regret of the entry of the Ford Foundation and its \$15 million offspring into the field of civil liberties, which is in a disputed area already crowded with muddled liberals, pro-Communists, anti-anti-Communists, and designing pressure groupists, who scheme constantly to maintain a left-wing balance of power in America, by loudly shouting the phony civil-rights issue." Representative Reece further noted that the committee had denounced the expenditure of great sums of tax-exempt money in the political field by biased individuals whose public utterances brand them as wholly incompetent to conduct a fair and objective inquiry, or to make grants of money in the public interest.

Reprint from Congressional Record of
speech by B. Carroll Reece in House of
Representatives, July 21, 1955

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Paul Harvey in his radio broadcast of August 28, 1955, stated that he simply could not understand why The Fund for the Republic was "hiding behind the label 'non-political' . . . when everything they espouse and finance seems to parallel the political action of the PAC. Indeed, the Vice-President of the Fund for the Republic, W. H. Ferry was a top official of the CIO Political Action Committee in 1944 and 1945." According to Harvey, in following its pattern of opposing everybody who is sincerely concerned with our national security, the Fund "is loading its guns with your dollars. . . And aiming its guns. . . at the FBI and the American Legion."

(Excerpts from broadcast enclosed in letter from Harvey to Nichols dated 8/29/55.)
An editorial in the Fort Lauderdale Daily News commented that

"The American people are now having their pockets picked to finance propaganda that, to say the least, is soft on Communism and hard on anti-Communists. We're talking about that progeny of the Ford Foundation, the ironically-named Fund for the Republic." The editors ask, "Where do these academic southpaws get off by thinking they can use tax-exempt Ford millions to brainwash the American public? Under the law, foundations are granted their tax-exempt status to advance the public good--and that does not include partisan political activities. And despite the coy way they phrase the objectives of their 'studies' they ARE active in the field of politics."

Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News,
September 3, 1955

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On September 4, 1955, correspondent Walter Trohan reported that Representative August E. Johansen has suggested congressional scrutiny of the tax-exemption privileges of The Fund for the Republic after examining its official structure and projects. He charged the Fund with promoting leftist causes while pretending to defend civil rights. According to Trohan, Representative Johansen said that he is not concerned over the right of private groups, privately financed, to be active in alleged defense of civil liberties. He said he objects to apparent propaganda efforts, operating under the guise of defending liberties, receiving tax-exempt status, which means that the people are financing leftist causes. Trohan quotes Johansen as saying, "The fund report discloses certain current and projected activities clearly propagandist in character, including activities involving the utilization of the most modern and powerful media of communication, and mass opinion shaping before the fact finding has been undertaken."

Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 4, 1955

On October 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his column remarked that the report issued by The Fund for the Republic confirmed the many suspicions that the basic "Hutchins-Ferry" intent is to eliminate any form of personnel security program. Lewis contrasted the objectivity of the

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Rockefeller Foundation with what he terms the "questionable and dubious" attitude of the Fund. According to him, most of the criticism of the Fund is based upon its attempts to prescribe the tenor of conclusions derived from studies made under its grants and to monitor them. He stated, "That constitutes an effort to lead and mold public opinion, not to promote thinking and discussion; its legitimacy is extremely dubious."

Washington Report, by Fulton Lewis, Jr.,
Copyright, 1955, King Features Syndicate,
Inc., October 5, 1955

Similarity to Communist Party Program

General Comment

Certain commentators have indicated that material produced by The Fund for the Republic has evidenced an amazing, if unwitting, similarity with the program of the Communist Party, USA.

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on October 5, 1955, stated that "The circuitous route chosen by the Fund to accomplish this aim is by attempting to persuade the American people that Communism is a legitimate, albeit heretical, political movement; and that any attempts to control the subversive conspiracy which Communism really is, constitute illegal and improper violations of the Constitution's guarantees of civil rights and liberties." Lewis concluded

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with the forceful observation that "The more I delve into this Fund for the Republic, the more amazed I am at the many similarities between its program and that of the Communist Party."

New York Journal-American, October 5, 1955

An editorial in the Boston Post of August 25, 1955, stated that Dr. Hutchins' Report of The Fund for the Republic, dated May 31, 1955, revealed that "his tender and sole concern seems to be for the civil rights of members of the Communist Party and their fellow travelers." The article further stated that the Fund has spent \$2,514,738 in five years to "advance understanding of civil liberties," but all of the super-liberal doctor's projects concern "anti-anti-communism."

Boston Post, August 25, 1955

(100-391697-A)

On October 3, 1955, Senator John W. Bricker addressed the annual convention of the American Bakers Association and assailed The Fund for the Republic. Bricker stated that the purpose of the Fund, instead of being objective as originally intended, is apparently to criticize those critical of Communism.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, October 4, 1955

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The Daily Worker, an east coast Communist newspaper, in commenting upon the arrest of Max Weiss, a national leader of the Communist Party, USA, under the membership clause of the Smith Act, alleged that his "crime" was the type that "conveniently requires no evidence: membership, association, ideas," and quoted a statement by Dr. Robert Hutchins, president of The Fund for the Republic:

✓ "Think what has happened of late to the great American principle that man is to be judged by what he does, not by what he thinks, not even by what he says, certainly not by what his relatives think or say or even by what they do, surely not by what his acquaintance or acquaintances of his acquaintances think say or do."

Immediately following this statement the editorial says,

"To which might be added--and certainly not by what paid perjurious informers claim he thinks or says!"

Daily Worker, September 21, 1955

Excerpts which follow were taken from the Communist Party press showing the Party line on legislative and juridical matters in 1952 and 1955, upon which those identified with the activities of The Fund for the Republic have among them, also taken a stand on one or more of these facets.

1952 Communist Party Line

✓ "The Smith and McCarran acts under which the so-called trials of the Communists and the Communist Party are taking place are special anti-Communist legislation, laws of attainder

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in flagrant violation of the Constitution. With their systems of thought control, denial of free speech, and political intimidation, these laws are more fitting to a fascist regime than to a country with a democratic tradition such as ours."

Daily Worker, August 11, 1952

"The Communist Party and its members, as has been stated repeatedly, will not register under the degrading, fascistlike McCarran Act. It is an American Party and it will resolutely defend its rights as such. ..."

Daily Worker, October 22, 1952

"These 'subversive organization' lists are sheer lawlessness. They violate everything in our Constitution and the legal system based on it. The FBI's political police, and witchhunting committees, like the Un-Americans and the McCarranites, are running up and down the country smashing our laws, spitting in the face of even the Supreme Court's ruling."

Daily Worker, October 20, 1952

"... The government loyalty program grew rapidly until it imposed thought control on three million government workers.

"... every government worker's life was made a target for FBI investigation.

"... guilt by association became the standard in the government. Civil servants were fired for knowing the wrong people, for having the wrong relatives and for reading the wrong books."

Daily Worker, August 31, 1952

"Labor Day--and all the following days right up to Election Day--should be an occasion for demanding outright repeal of the hated Taft-Hartley Law...."

Daily Worker, August 15, 1952

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1955 Communist Party Line

"Communists are not the threat to the country that the Justice Department claims them to be. They have been arrested as part of the drive to promote the cold war...."

The Worker, July 31, 1955

"...If the McCarran and Communist Control Acts are upheld by the Supreme Court these acts 'will for the first time in American history outlaw a political party, tighten up measures for policing the labor movement, and lay the legal basis under certain circumstances to turn our country into a complete police state.'"

Daily Worker, August 4, 1955

"A CRUSADE to restore the Bill of Rights was called for last week by the special conference of Communist Party leaders from all parts of the country. The conference stressed the goal of securing the invalidation of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, now facing a U. S. Supreme Court test, and of its amended form, the Communist Control Act of 1954 under which Brownell is already prosecuting the first union."

Daily Worker, August 9, 1955

"Brownell and his Justice Department face a dilemma. They are determined to frame more and more Smith Act victims, and this they cannot do without the use of their discredited informers. And they cannot utilize these informers effectively unless they find some answer to the growing revulsion of the American people against these paid liars. Their solution to the dilemma is... to harass and penalize every liberal voice raised in protest against their methods."

Daily Worker, July 15, 1955

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"... What is also involved is the whole question of the various Congressional 'investigations,' first challenged years ago... In most cases these are illegal. Not only were they never authorized, they could not have been authorized even if Congress had so desired, because under the law, committees can hold hearings only for the purpose of formulating legislation or passing judgment on some pending legislation or appointment."

"Of course, even consideration of actual legislation is no excuse for 'investigating' people's thoughts, reading, writing, associations and affiliations."

Daily Worker, August 2, 1955.

It was reliably reported that on October 5, 1955, a meeting was held at the Civil Rights Congress* headquarters, New York City, relative to the formation of a new group. This meeting was presided over by a New York Communist Party functionary, Sam Coleman, who stated that the new group would be an independent Party organization. The name tentatively selected for this group is "Council for Protection of Personal Liberties" and one of two major issues to be considered initially is "paid Government witnesses."

(NY air-tel to Bureau 10/7/55 "Civil Rights Congress")
Defense of Smith Act Defendants

In late September, 1955, New York Communists, in connection with organizing a defense campaign in behalf of George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, defendants in the forthcoming New York Smith Act

* See Appendix for citation.

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trial, are reported to have contacted Norman Thomas, a Socialist Party leader. Thomas is said to have agreed to help establish a defense committee and allegedly is negotiating with The Fund for the Republic to underwrite the defense of these individuals. However, Party leaders were reportedly of the opinion that the Fund would not furnish funds. (S) [u]
(Air-tel from NY, 10/4/55, Civil Rights Congress;
Air-tel from New York, 10/7/55, CRC)

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APPENDIX

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**ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450
OR CITED BY CONGRESSIONAL OR STATE COMMITTEES**

With one exception, organizations and publications listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by congressional or state committees.

Those cited by congressional or state committees are listed in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., May 14, 1951. Those cited only by committees have been identified with the page number of the Guide following the organization or publication.

Those designated by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization or publication.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Guide, p. 12)

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Executive Order 10450)

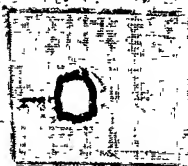
American Committee to Save Refugees (Guide, p. 15)

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (Executive Order 10450)

American League for Peace and Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

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American Peace Mobilization (Executive Order 10450)

American Rescue Ship Mission (Executive Order 10450)

American Russian Institute, New York, (also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union) Philadelphia and San Francisco (Executive Order 10450)

American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles (Executive Order 10450)

American Student Union (Guide, p. 26)

American Youth Congress (Executive Order 10450)

California Labor School, Inc. (Executive Order 10450)

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (Executive Order 10450)

Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)

Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime (Guide, p. 37)

Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts (Guide, p. 36)

Committee for Defense of Public Education (Guide, p. 37)

Committee of One Thousand (Guide, p. 38)

Communist Party, USA (Executive Order 10450)

Communist Political Association (Executive Order 10450)

Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo (Guide, p. 45)

Council for Pan-American Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Harvard Student Union (chapter of American Student Union) (Guide, p. 26)

Hollywood Writers Mobilization (Guide, p. 59)

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Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
(Guide, p. 60)

Independent Socialist League (Executive Order 10450)

Institute of Pacific Relations (U.S. Congress. Senate. Institute of Pacific Relations. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951-1952)

International Juridical Association (Guide, p. 63)

International Labor Defense (Executive Order 10450)

International Workers Order (Executive Order 10450)

John Reed Clubs of the United States (Guide, p. 68)

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Executive Order 10450)

League of American Writers (Executive Order 10450)

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
(Guide, p. 75)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Executive Order 10450)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Guide, p. 82)

National Emergency Conference (Guide, p. 82)

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Guide, p. 83)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Executive Order 10450)

National Institute of Arts and Letters (Guide, p. 84)

National Lawyers' Guild (Guide, p. 85)

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New Masses (Guide, p. 142)

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New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (Guide, p. 90)

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio (Guide, p. 91)

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Philadelphia Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (affiliate of National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill) (Guide, p. 80)

Samuel Adams School, Boston (Executive Order 10450)

Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (Guide, p. 101)

Socialist Workers Party (Executive Order 10450)

Socialist Youth League (Executive Order 10450)

Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Guide, p. 104)

Southern Negro Youth Congress (Executive Order 10450)

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

Workers School of New York City (Guide, p. 121)

Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *W.C.S.*

DATE: November 2, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *W.C.S.*

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated October 25, 1955, submitted the yellow copy of the above-captioned monograph for approval.

W.C. Sullivan

Mr. Tolson's suggestion that two copies of the monograph be furnished the Attorney General and one copy each to Deputy Attorney General Rogers and to Assistant Attorneys General Olney, Tompkins and Holland was approved by the Director.

Enclosed is a letter of transmittal to the Attorney General, with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and the Assistant Attorneys General named.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter of transmittal to the Attorney General, with copies to the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Olney, Tompkins and be approved.

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ENCLOSURE

Enclosure *11-3-55*

RSG:mjh

(3)

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section tickler

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CENTRAL RESEARCH

66 NOV 9 1955

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *1/ per DS*

DATE: October 27, 1955

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT :

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

George Sokolsky has sent me the attached press release *W.C. [signature]* dated October 20, 1955, announcing the appointment of former Dean Donald K. David, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of The Ford Foundation. Sokolsky expresses the view that he does not think "this is worth a damn, however, they (Ford people) think it is the beginning of big things."

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

(4)

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EX-121

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Autosta+

FROM: The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-2929

8 RELEASE: Thursday A. M. 'S
October 20, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/23/79 BY SP8 BTJ/ab

The Ford Foundation announced today the arrival of Donald K. David, former Dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard, to assume his responsibilities as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of The Ford Foundation. *N.Y.*
Mr. David was elected Chairman of the Committee by the Trustees at their Fall meeting. Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, was re-elected a member of the Executive Committee together with Frank W. Abrams, John Cowles, H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., and Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Mr. David, whose offices will be at the Foundation's New York headquarters beginning November 1, 1955, has been a trustee of The Ford Foundation since May 12, 1948. He has a distinguished background in the fields of education and business. Born in 1896 and a native of Idaho, he was graduated from the University of Idaho in 1916 and received his Masters degree in business administration from Harvard in 1919.

From 1919 to 1921, Mr. David was an instructor at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. He was assistant dean from 1920 to 1927, when he resigned to become executive vice president of the Royal Baking Powder Company. He held this post until his election as president of that Company and vice president of Standard Brands, Inc., in 1929. From 1930 until 1941, he was president of American Maize Products Company, and in 1942 he returned to Harvard to become associate dean and then dean of the Business School. He retired from the latter position in July of 1955. — ENCLOSURE —

Mr. David is a member of the Board of Directors of Ford Motor Company, General Electric, R. H. Macy & Company, Aluminium Ltd., of Canada, and other firms. He is married and has a son and a daughter.

100-391697-255

From
GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY
300 West End Avenue
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Lou:

I do not think

this is worth a damn.

However, they think it

is the beginning of big

things.

measured.
Mr. Tolson

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DATE 7-28-89 BY 203 BTJ/afg

1513-8th Avenue

Huntington 7, W. Va.

October 10, 1955

Mr. Henry Ford II.

NO LOCALITY

Dear Mr. Ford:

Of late, there has been much adverse comment in press and radio on the subject of Mr. Robert Maynard Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic; no doubt caused by the Communist Party's approval of its program.

ROLLINS L. JAMES

As a regular reader of the Daily Worker, I have often wondered why the Communist Party USA was so long in recognizing the value of the Fund's activities. It is financed by Ford money and the Party's peace program, now in full swing, should long ago have paid tribute to your grandfather's efforts toward international peace, such as the Peace Ship.

Mr. Edsel Ford's sponsorship of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship would naturally qualify him as a businessman of liberal views, and tolerant of Communism to a degree in

keeping with the findings of Prof. Samuel A. Stouffer, whose volume "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties" was an early project of Senator Clifford Case. You may note the mention of Mr. Ford as one of the distinguished Americans

100100

sponsoring the Council, on page 6, the Daily Worker, August 18th in the David Platt column. While the NCASF was cited ^{NO LOCALITY} as subversive and Communist eleven years ago by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Martin Dies; now Congressman at Large from Texas; such need not be a source of concern as very little has been done about the organization.

In spite of the fact that the Fund for the Republic, or even the Ford Foundation, is not Communist, it has received excellent and highly approving coverage such as; page 5 the Daily Worker, August 19th; page 3 on August 22nd; and page 4 on August 29th.

One important aspect of the work financed by your family is the advancement of the Co-existence program of the Communist Party. So important is that program that on page 3, the Sunday Worker for September 4th, just a month ago, there appeared a very informative article about a report presented to the Pentagon by Norman ^{*}Thomas and [REDACTED] the

NO LOCALITY

Party approves of this act by Socialists for the main reason that it represented progress in the peace campaign and is supported by your Fund, which thereby acts as a bridge between the Communist and non-Communist Left.

the Landy Case is an excellent example of security activities by the Armed Forces, and is used to illustrate the article about the survey "the Draftee and Internal Security" and the "Yarmolinsky Study" both financed by the Fund for the Republic.

Again on September 11th in the Sunday Worker pages 3 & 14, there are full page spreads with illustrations comparing the security investigations with Goering's Gestapo - which confuses me somewhat. I thought it was Himmler who was the Gestapo Chief with whom these surveys tend to compare Director J. Edgar Hoover.

no identity.

two men, Walter^X Millis and reinforce the idea of the Ford Fund's opinion of the F.B.I. Walter Millis, Editor at Large, in

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the Saturday Review September 3rd attacks the concept that Communists or subversives are subversive.

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In a special editorial, [redacted] managing editor of the Daily Worker, in the October 4th edition saluted Millis as full time Consultant to your Fund. It is not too often that non-Communists are so signally honored and recalls the now historic example of former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. Frederick V. Field of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Communist Party declared that his pamphlet compared favorably with the writings of Earl Browder.

September 15th on page 3, just under Al Hannon's picture; there appears a brief article about the Fund's President Robert ^{NO LOCALITY} Hutchins, in which he accuses the American Legion Commander of libel. Now libel is a very serious matter and I hope there ensues no court struggle between the Ford Company and the American Legion.

the next day, September 16th, there is a front page article about Emil ^{NO LOCALITY} Mazey attacking you for fleecing farmers, but on page 6 the [redacted]

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[] column is devoted in its entirety to the Fund's prize winning scripts. Confusion arises over the fact that the front page article attacks your Company yet the page 6 article congratulates the Fund set up by your Company. the logical question therefore is; whether or not such a Fund is morally justified in accepting money from a company which allegedly is fleecing farmers to get it.

[] column; page 6, Daily Worker, September 20th; gives a triple mention to the Fund and Ford Foundation. the first is a double mention of a prize winning script and the projected radio series. this series of 13 hour long plays concerns civil rights cases and special mention was made of the Lattimore and Peters cases. that would be the Owen Lattimore whose case never came to trial and was finally dropped by the Justice Department. the Peters case would, I think, be that of John P. Peters of Yale whose discharge by the government was ^{Constitutional} recently voided in court and who, just the other week, signed an amicus curiae brief in behalf of the Communist Party.

there has been some publicity over the millions given the Fund for the Republic and the projects it financed; however, foundation activities periodically get a public "going-over" but seldom if ever does anything come of it.

For instance; the last job held by Alger Hiss was with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yet the man who influenced his getting the job is now Secretary of State and, of course, no one has seriously considered attacking him or the Carnegie Foundation.

Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations gave a fortune to the Institute of Pacific Relations and have suffered no subsequent damage to their fine reputations despite the work of the Mc Carran Sub-Committee. I, of course, do not know about funds you may have given to the IPR as a result of contacts by Mr. W. L. Holland, its executive officer. It is always possible that acute embarrassment may result if donations to Communists followed such contacts.

true, Frederick V. Field has gone to prison but not because of his activities as contributing-head of a Fund.

this is just personal opinion, but it seems that you may have some slight difficulty with the American Legion, one of our largest and most patriotic organizations. As would be expected, they resent Dr Hutchins accusing their commander of libel. they would hardly set up a boycott of your products; as has been publicly mentioned; but even if that were to come about, the most you could lose would be the sales of a few hundred thousand cars, tractors etc.

Very truly yours,

[Redacted Signature]

b6
b7C

Director, J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,

October 10, 1955

Dear Mr. Hoover:

the enclosed is a verbatim copy of a letter
dispatched to Dearborn with the friendliest
of intentions; the intention being, to hurl a
right hand curve with a left hand brick.

It might be described as an attempted
ideological beanball.

You understand that it is just one minor
result of the publication of the Fund for the
Republic Report — ever since which, the air
has been filled with journalistic curses and
flying innuendoes.

Alan Max described the Fund for the Republic
as being "beleaguered," which is the shy,
restrained understatement of the year — in
the D.W. that is. Possibly such unimportant
communications as my letter may fall upon
him with the effect of gentle rain drops

which, though unimportant, can wear away
granite. I make haste to disclaim any attempt
to describe Mr. Henry Ford II as a rock-head;
must does not so describe the grandson of
the great Henry Ford.

53 NOV 2 1955

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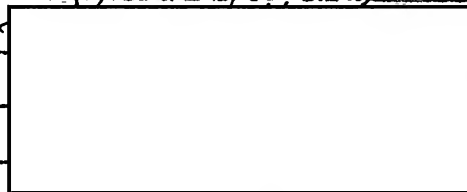
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Your agents know about Moses Finkelstein
(Finley), W.L. Holland and Company; and there
is an off chance that "Hurricane Hutchins"
might blow up as a result of "public
discussion thereof" - I hope.

My respects,



W.L.H.

b6
b7C

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

The Ford Fund for the Republic

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DATE 12-8-89 BY 2088 BJS/afj

Speech of
Hon. B. Carroll Reece
of Tennessee

in the

House of Representatives

Thursday, July 21, 1955

D.C.

*Not printed,
at Government
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1955

352737-55264

100-351697-257

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS *LBNe*

FROM : W. G. EAMES *E*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
THE FORD FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
 (Bufile #100-391697)

DATE: 11/3/55

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

There is attached a Congressional Record, special printing, of a speech by Congressman B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, July 21, 1955, captioned, "The Ford Fund for the Republic."

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That a new main card be made on the second of the foregoing captions.

(2) That the attachment be thoroughly indexed into this file.

LMF
 LML:jmc
 (3)

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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ENCLO. ATTACHED

SE 2

100-391697-257
20 NOV 4 1955

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ENCLOSURE
 EX-126

11-17-55
 #44

811-118

68 NOV 18 1955

4-LBNe

Classifying

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 25, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MONOGRAPH: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

2013
1

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

Sullivan

Enclosed you will find the yellow copy of the revised edition of the above-captioned monograph. The original Plastiplates are being retained in the Central Research Section to which this yellow copy should be returned for preparation of monograph copies.

Four things should be noted:

1. This monograph represents a departure from the usual monographs disseminated because of the amount of unverified material it contains.
2. However, the Introduction endeavors to take care of this matter by explaining that the FBI has not investigated The Fund for the Republic and therefore cannot vouch for the accuracy of allegations made.
3. Because of the age of some of this material reported (different items go back fifteen years or more), it would be hard to substantiate such material if called upon to do so. Again, the Introduction attempts to take care of this point by alluding to this study as a reference work rather than as a brief or thesis or a documentary proof.
4. The material contained in this monograph was compiled from public sources, Bureau informants, anonymous sources and material received from congressional committees in Executive Session.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this monograph be referred to the Director and Mr. Nichols for action.

Enclosure

WCS:mjh

NOV 9 1955

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section tickler

RECORDED - 33

NOV 7 1955

This is very good
EX-118200d
100-391697-258
9 suggest copies to
as Rogers
and Tompkins
in/
Dept of Justice
10727

100-391697

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-22-89 BY 8853 Jap

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: October 29, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

[redacted] who is associated with Fulton Lewis, told me that as of 10-28-55, Fulton had received more than \$3,000 for copies of the booklet which he is getting out on the Fund for the Republic. One New Yorker, [redacted] 120 Broadway, whose name [redacted] gave me in confidence, is the individual who told Fulton he wanted to buy a copy for every Federal Judge since the Fund for the Republic was sending copies of their booklet to the Judges. He sent a check for \$510 to cover this and told Fulton that if there was anything left at all to buy a present for [redacted] [redacted] who had helped on the research.

LBN:gjm || Now have over
 (4) || \$5000 - 11/1.
 cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

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100-391697-259
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: November 1, 1955

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

Nichols ☒

Belmont ☒

Mohr ☒

Parsons ☒

Rosen ☒

Tamm ☒

Sizoo ☒

Winterrowd ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Holloman ☒

Gandy ☒

no Fulton Lewis, Jr. told me he talked to Professor Arthur Sutherland of Harvard University Law School on November 1 who informed him that [redacted] resigned from the Staff of the project on the Study of the Communist Record in 1953, although Fairman is still carried on the staff in the report of the Fund for the Republic made public on May 31, 1955. Sutherland stated the actual work in compiling the bibliography on Communism was carried on by [redacted] who was assigned to the project by Dean Carl Spaeth, Harvard University, three months after he was dismissed from a Veterans Administration mental institution [redacted] had [redacted], and [redacted], both attorneys in Washington, D. C., handle the research. This material was then turned over to [redacted] and [redacted] who put it in final shape. *no* The files are negative on these people, except we did an applicant investigation on [redacted] for the Department, which investigation was completed in May, 1955.

The next time I talk to Rogers I will mention this to him.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
LBN:arm
(4)

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DATE 7-28-89 BY 2888 BTJ/afp

ADDENDUM:LBN:ptm 11-2-55

While talking to Robert Minor on other matters, I mentioned our investigation of Frederica Breneman. Minor told me she was working in the Department. I then furnished Minor with the background of their connection with the Fund for the Republic. Minor stated this, of course, was another headache for them.

RECORDED 13
INDEXED 13

EX - 107

66 NOV 8 1955

21 NOV 8 1955

CRIME REC.

October 31, 1955

MR. TOLSON:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mr. Tolson	/
Mr. Boardman	/
Mr. Nichols	/
Mr. Belmont	/
Mr. Harbo	/
Mr. Mohr	/
Mr. Parsons	/
Mr. Rosen	/
Mr. Tamm	/
Mr. Sizoo	/
Mr. Winterrowd	/
Tele. Room	/
Mr. Holloman	/
Miss Gandy	/

W. L. Sullivan

[redacted] has again advised of information concerning the attempt of the Fund for the Republic to have its telephone lines checked to see if they possibly have been tapped by several commentators who have made derogatory remarks concerning that organization. I have mentioned this matter in an informal memorandum to you on Friday, 10-28-55. [redacted] now advises that he has been instructed to check the Washington telephone number assigned to [redacted] located at [redacted]. This is the Civil Liberties Office Branch of the Fund for the Republic. [redacted] to Adam Yarmolinsky.

According to [redacted] [redacted] has confidentially advised him that Yarmolinsky is of the opinion that either Fulton Lewis, George Sokolsky or David Lawrence has had his office phone tapped. [redacted] stated that Yarmolinsky does not know how Lewis, Sokolsky or Lawrence can get their information unless they have been overhearing conversations between Yarmolinsky's office and other points.

CDD:ptm
(2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-22-89 BY 2580 BJA

B. NICHOLS

RECORDED - 86

100-391697-261

INDEXED - 86

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100-391697

302 207 145
NOV 9 1955
65 NOV 10 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: October 26, 1955

FROM : L. V. Boardman

SUBJECT: Luncheon with Chief Post Office Inspector David H. Stephens

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-28-87 BY 6023 JRS

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman

I had luncheon today with Chief Post Office Inspector D. H. Stephens.

No specific matters concerning the Bureau or the Post Office Inspection Service arose during the luncheon discussion. However, Chief Inspector Stephens commented that he felt that relations between the FBI and his service were very beneficial to him and he commented that he considered Liaison Agent J. J. Daunt to be doing a very effective job of liaison with his organization. Prior to having luncheon with Stephens, I checked with Agent Daunt and was advised that no unsolved problems were outstanding between the FBI and the Post Office Inspection Service.

I had previously known Inspector Stephens when he was in charge of their Philadelphia office and enjoyed very friendly relations with him at that time. The relationship to my knowledge continues to be very good.

You will recall that the Fund for the Republic, on 9/26/55, granted \$30,000 to the Institute of Legal Research of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, to make a study of government interception of nonmailable matter. The study will concern government action against obscene publications, foreign political propaganda, and other such material. Stephens commented to me that several representatives of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania have already been in touch with the Post Office Department in Washington in connection with this survey. Stephens stated that, as a consequence of these preliminary contacts and his knowledge of the Fund for the Republic, he is taking a "dim view" as to their objectivity. He commented that if any matters arose during the course of this survey which he thought would be of interest to the Bureau, he would bring them to the attention of Liaison Agent Daunt.

LVB:CSH (3)

2 DEPT OF JUSTICE

FBI

INDEXED-99

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EX-121

NOV 3 1955

LIAISON

PERS. FILES

58 NOV 10 1955

Mr. Nichols

November 3, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 3, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-26-89 BY SP7BJP

On his 7:00 P. M. broadcast, Lewis stated that in pursuit of information concerning the Ford Fund for the Republic project, Bibliography on Communism in the United States, he was successful in interviewing the two who did the original research on the bibliography. These individuals were identified as [redacted], both of whom are members of the District of Columbia Bar.

Lewis pointed out that [redacted] is in the [redacted] Division of the Department of Justice and [redacted] is on temporary duty with [redacted]. According to Lewis, [redacted] indicated they were hired by the staff director of the project shortly after their graduation from Harvard in 1953. They were originally instructed to do a pilot survey to see if there were already in existence some bibliographies on the subject of Communism and to determine how extensive a job it would be to prepare such a bibliography. They later reported to the staff director, "John Doe," who according to Lewis was just out of a mental hospital in California, and [redacted] decided to go on with the project. Some of their work was done at the Library of Congress and some at Harvard. They received no specific instructions and went ahead with their work making cards on every reference to every phase of Communism they could find. They reportedly used no editorial selectivity and turned all of this material over to the staff director. [redacted] do not know what happened to the cards after that, and they have not examined the bibliography in detail. They kept no record of the cards turned in.

Lewis stated that two other individuals carried the project on from where [redacted] left it and that he would make a check on them. Lewis stated all indications point to the fact that the staff director was responsible for the bibliography in its final form.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Young (Room 7631)
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-371671)

NOT RECORDED
46 NOV 8 1955

GMP:msh
68 NOV 9 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols.

November 3, 1955

Lewis said that the dangerous thing about this whole thing is the planting of these bibliographies in public libraries throughout the country. He stated that the bibliography is presumably complete and objective and individuals going to a library have the right to feel that they can trust a bibliography. But the Ford Foundation has stuffed libraries with this slanted bibliography that has all of the information on one side and omitting the important information concerning the other side of the question. He added that the Fund for the Republic people are the ones who talk about the evasion of civil rights, et cetera.

Lewis also mentioned that there was available in printed form for \$1 per copy the complete text of his broadcasts concerning the Fund for the Republic beginning with the first broadcast through that of last Friday, October 28, 1955. He thought it would be a good thing if his booklets were placed on the library shelves along with the Fund for the Republic bibliography.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

November 3, 1955

Mr. A. Jones

~~FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC~~
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 2, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-26-89 BY 20857314

On his 7:00 P. M. broadcast last night, Mr. Lewis explained that the Ford Foundation holds a large share of stock in the Ford Motor Company and that its share of the Ford Motor Company earnings last year was over \$265,000,000. He questioned the decision of the Bureau of Internal Revenue in declaring that the Ford Foundation's earnings should be free from Federal and state taxes.

Mr. Lewis stated he had written several letters to Dr. Hutchins, Chairman of the Ford Fund for the Republic, inquiring into its so-called civil rights investigations. In his letter, Mr. Lewis pointed out that forcing workers to join unions poses a serious threat to our democracy. On October 4, 1955, he received a letter from Dr. Hutchins in which Hutchins said, "We have just begun to work in a modest way among unions," adding it would be some time before any program is formulated. Lewis stated that if the inquiry into civil liberties is to mean anything at all, it cannot ignore the threat to the liberties and rights of the individual which are involved in forcing a man to join a union in order to hold a job. It seems clear, Mr. Lewis said, that the Fund for the Republic is interested in civil liberties for only certain individuals in this country. To put it bluntly, Lewis stated, the so-called civil rights investigation is loaded and any thing that comes out of it must be suspect.

In answer to the "outraged" critics of the Fund for the Republic as to who the individuals were to whom a professor of the Harvard University law school turned over the job of compiling the "slanted, phony" bibliography of Communism in the United States which the Fund has planted in some 1,200 libraries over the country, Lewis restated a report given on his November 1

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic File

GEM:mbk/rcw

(7)

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NOT RECORDED
NOV 8 1955

NOV 9 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 3, 1955

broadcast concerning the staff director of the project, an individual who, just prior to the time he was hired, had been released from a California mental institution where he had been committed for a period of about a year because of his delusions about communism, Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, etc. The foreword of the bibliography itself, Lewis reported, states that the original basic work on the bibliography project was done by a [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] both of whom were described as members of the District of Columbia Bar. [redacted] and [redacted] were given jobs on this bibliography project upon graduation from Harvard Law School in 1953, according to Mr. Lewis. [redacted] presently is working in the [redacted] of the Department of Justice and [redacted] is on temporary duty [redacted]. He is presently assigned to [redacted] in the office of [redacted].

b6
b7c

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

GENERAL OUTLINE FOR CASE HISTORIES

1. Employee's job status before charges were brought: place of employment and nature of job (professional or clerical, skilled or unskilled), salary level, number of direct subordinates, if any, degree of sensitivity of work (any access to classified materials and if so, what classification?), length of tenure of job, length of tenure in government service (or with same private employer, in industrial security case). Where case involves facility clearance under industrial security program subject will be a contractor rather than an employee.
2. Had employee been the subject of previous loyalty or security proceedings? Summarize the proceedings briefly, being as specific as possible about the content of previous charges and stating as to each charge whether it was repeated in the case under study. These charges should be quoted verbatim if possible.*
3. Was employee interrogated prior to formulation of charges, and if so, how? How was employee informed of charges (informal conference with security officer, formal interrogatory, with or without indications of need for hearing. Any pressure to resign?). In industrial security cases, indicate whether charges were based on employee's personnel security questionnaire, and if so, on what statements in the personnel security questionnaire.
4. Nature of charges. Wherever possible, quote charges verbatim. Note year referred to by most recent charge.
- 4a. Was counsel retained, and if so, at what stage in the proceeding?*
5. What was the content of employee's response, and what was the function of counsel, if any, in preparing it? Note number and nature of supporting affidavits and exhibits, if any. What affirmative showing, if any, did the employee make as to his meeting the criteria of the program, in addition to his attempted refutation of specific charges against him.
6. Did employee attempt, and if so was he able, to obtain amplification or greater specification of charges at any point? Specify when, how and what. Did he, without requesting, receive subsequent more detailed specifications on the initiative of the security officials.
7. If program procedure called for formal evaluation of written submission, without opportunity for hearing at this stage (as in industrial security program), what was the result of this evaluation, including findings, if any, released to employee?

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DATE 7/22/89 BY 00225 J08

100-391697-263

8. If there was a hearing, what evidence was introduced by the employee? By the Government? What was the order of presentation, and the procedure followed: Was an attorney-advisor to the Board present and did he have occasion to resolve any question of law? How long did the hearing go on? Was any evidence introduced by the Government outside the scope of the charges, and was a continuance sought or granted? The interviewer should be alert for comments or questions by Board members, indicating possible articulate or inarticulate premises of judgment. If the transcript of the hearing was not inspected by the interviewer, he should so state at the outset of his description of the hearing.*
9. What descriptive comments does the lawyer have on the hearing? (e.g.: demeanor of the Board, conduct of attorney-advisor, extent to which hearing was confined to written charges, treatment of witnesses, indications of Board's interpretation of criteria.)
10. Did employee receive a report of the Board's recommendation, with or without statement of reasons, and did he have an opportunity to comment on these?
11. What decision was rendered, and in what form?
12. What (further) appellate steps were taken, if any? (Under the Industrial Security Program the initial hearing is before Appeal Division.)
13. What was the final result of this proceeding?
- 13a. What was the date (month and year) when charges were first received by the employee? Include dates of any charges under the previous proceedings.*
14. What was the time interval between each pair of the steps described above? In industrial security cases, if employee was cleared, include time interval between final clearance and receipt of restitution money..
15. Was employee suspended, with or without pay, or transferred to less sensitive employment, and if so, at what point?
16. How many working hours of lawyer's time were spent on the matter, and (where the information is available) what fee was charged? In industrial security cases, did the employer make any contribution to legal expenses or other expenses?
17. Are there any facts about the employee's subsequent job record which the employee's counsel believes may be related to the security proceeding? (If the employee was reinstated, subsequent promotion, job changes, effects of reduction in force, etc.; if the employee was dismissed what has been his subsequent employment history?)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: October 22, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols ✓

SUBJECT:

Tolson ✓
Boardman ✓
Nichols ✓
Belmont ✓
Harbo ✓
Mohr ✓
Parsons ✓
Rosen ✓
Tamm ✓
 Sizoo ✓
Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
Gandy ✓

I have received from a confidential source which is known to be reliable that Adam Yarmolinsky in making the survey which resulted in his booklet, "Case-Studies in Personnel Security," has sent out a memorandum for interviewers dated February 11, 1955, and a general outline to be used in preparing case histories of the cases written up who were involved in the Federal Employees Security Program. Photostatic copies of these two documents are attached.

The Fund for the Republic paid the so-called interviewers who were attorneys at the rate of five dollars per hour while they were engaged in preparing the case write-ups. The study was undertaken by the Fund for the Republic, according to statements made by Yarmolinsky in personal correspondence with attorneys he was soliciting to participate in the program, and he stated, "This study is intended primarily for use by a committee organized by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under a grant from the Fund, in order to make recommendations for changes in the operation of these programs. It consists of accounts of cases involving Government employees, industrial workers and merchant seamen, arising under the various Federal personnel security programs. These accounts are prepared from the files of lawyers who have advised or represented the employees and are written in such a way as to conceal the identity of the employee as nearly as possible. We are aiming at a compilation of some four hundred cases from various parts of the country to be completed by the end of May."

You will recall that we have previously received from confidential sources a memorandum over the signature of W. H. Ferry, addressed to the City Bar Association of New York, outlining the scope and method in which the study is to be handled. It is thus clear that the Fund for the Republic has pulled a hoax upon the American public in that they get the Bar Association of the City of New York to make a survey and finance it; then the Fund for the Republic, through its own employee, Adam Yarmolinsky, goes out and gets the case

ENCLOSURE

Enclosures

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

RECORDED - 6 100-391697-263

INDEXED - 6

18 NOV 7 1955

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-23-89 BY 2883 J101af

EMT SEC SECT

59 NOV 14 1955

10/26/55

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

write-ups which will be presented to the Bar Association of the City of New York, upon which the Bar Association of the City of New York will make their recommendations. If there was ever an ex-Party proceeding, this is it; unless, of course, the Bar Association of the City of New York would disregard the case studies presented to it and go out and get their own which is beyond the realm of probability.

In view of the delicate manner in which the information quoted above was obtained and in view of the personal correspondence which was involved, I have returned such correspondence to my source since it was specifically stipulated that the names of the attorneys would not be divulged by the source of information who has shown me the letters and given me the copies of the two memoranda above referred to.

V. RB
I think we should advise
R. G. + Rogers by memo.
K.

Revised February 21, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR INTERVIEWERS

The Fund for the Republic has undertaken to collect a substantial number of cases arising under the various personnel security programs of the United States Government. This material is intended for use, together with other materials, in the formulation of policy proposals with regard to these programs. It will be made available to the committee presently being organized by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York under a grant from the Fund to study existing programs and make recommendations for their improvement.

Scope. The cases are being collected under the following programs: Federal Employee Security Program (Executive Order 10450), Industrial Security Program, Port Security Program, Atomic Energy Commission personnel security program, military personnel security program, international organizations employees loyalty program.

The following kinds of cases are excluded from the scope of the study: cases arising under the Truman loyalty program (Executive Order 9835), and pending cases (although interviewers should keep track of pending cases that may be decided before the completion of this study). Some cases may be included which were decided under the "security" standard of Public Law 733 before the present Federal Employee Security Program was introduced. These cases arose principally in the Defense Establishment and the Department of State.

Method. Cases are to be prepared on the basis of information obtained from counsel for the employee in the case. Whenever possible, the interviewer should obtain access to the lawyer's file, and particularly to the text of the charges, the employee's written response, if any, and the transcript of the hearing, if any. The value of first-hand examination of these documents cannot be overstressed, and it is hoped that the charges can be quoted verbatim (omitting only identifying data in each case). Where the lawyer feels that he cannot make the file available, the information should be obtained from an interview with the lawyer. In either event, the lawyer's first-hand impressions of the hearing should be recorded, if possible, by direct quotation from him.*

* The lawyer's suggestions for changes in the program will be obtained by letter directly from this office after reports of his cases are received. This practice has been adopted in order to save the interviewer's time and not to burden the lawyer unduly while he is being asked to take time to make his cases available.

The interviewer should explain to the lawyer that the case history will be prepared so as to conceal as far as possible the identity of the employee, and that it will be submitted to the lawyer for his approval before it is put in final form. The lawyer will probably wish to obtain his client's consent before giving the case to the interviewer. While the interviewer should be careful not to intrude into the lawyer-client relationship, he should assure himself that in authorizing the reporting of the case, the lawyer has considered his client's interest. A memorandum describing the study, suitable for transmission by the lawyer to his client, is attached to this memorandum.

The interviewer should not make any record of the name of the employee, if he learns it, and neither the interviewer's name nor the lawyer's name should appear on his report, but the lawyer's name and address should be transmitted separately to this office, where a confidential record is maintained, showing each case by number, name of interviewer, and name of lawyer.

Where several cases appear to be related (as in the much publicized Greenbelt cases in the Navy Department in Washington), they should be submitted as a group with some indications of their interrelationships.

In order to give the study as much authority as possible the names of the consultants and interviewers will be included in the report of the study. It is also proposed to give, to the extent possible, the names of the lawyers who were interviewed. There will, of course, be no identification of the lawyer with the particular case.

Upon the completion of your interview with a lawyer, you should ask him if he would be willing to have his name (and office address) appear alphabetically with those of other lawyers under an explanatory note which reads as follows:

"In every instance the facts of the case were obtained from the lawyer for the employee concerned. Following is a list of the lawyers on whose cooperation this study depended. These lawyers have read over the studies of cases which they handled and have checked the accuracy of the accounts. Of the _____ cases studied, these lawyers handled _____. There were _____ lawyers who preferred that their names not be disclosed for fear that to do so might reveal the identity of the employee concerned."

Should the text of the note be revised, the lawyers will have an occasion to see the revised text before their names appear under it.

Confidential Nature of Case Reports. The case reports are for the confidential use of The Fund For The Republic, and The Special Committee of the New York City Bar Association. They will not be circulated beyond that point. It is proposed to prepare a number of cases in a form which would make it possible to circulate them without restriction. The interviewer should ascertain, as to each case, whether the lawyer and the client would be willing to make it available without the restrictions described above, and, if so, whether any changes (such as deleting the agency name) should be made in the case, if published, in order further to protect the identity of the employee.

Content and format. An outline of the material to be included in each case study is appended. The case should be written in narrative form, but the sequence of the outline should be followed, and each point should be covered. Cases should be submitted in at least six copies, double spaced, on letter size paper. The case heading should be as follows:

Case No. _____

(name of program, e.g., Industrial Security Program)

Time schedule. It is contemplated that the study will be completed within six months. Preparation of case histories should be substantially completed by the end of April, therefore, in order to permit the preparation of a summary report.

Treatment of cases where employee did not have counsel. It is probably not worth while to look for cases where the employee was not represented or advised by counsel, since the employees are hard to locate, they may not have complete files, and it is more difficult for them to discuss their cases objectively. If you do encounter such cases, however, where a reasonably complete file is available and the employee can furnish the other information specified in the outline, there is no reason why they should not be reported.

The cases you are collecting are part of a fact-finding study. The value of this study is directly dependent on your objectivity in reporting the facts as you see them. You should rely on original documents as far as possible; the statements of defense counsel provide valuable and sometimes essential supplementary information, but you should be careful to distinguish in your reporting between statements by counsel and recorded facts.

Adam Yarmolinsky
Consultant

The Attorney General

October 28, 1955

Director, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

By memorandum dated June 15, 1955, captioned as above, I furnished you a copy of a memorandum over the signature of W. H. Ferry, Vice President, Fund for the Republic, outlining the scope and methods of a case study of the operations of the Government Loyalty and Security Programs. Case histories were to be for the "confidential use" of the Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York with the exception of a limited number of cases specially prepared for outside distribution. I also furnished you a copy of a "General Outline for Case Histories" which was apparently designed as a guide in the collection of these case histories. (100-391697-113)

For your information, a reliable and very confidential source has made available a "Memorandum For Interviewers" dated February 11, 1955, presumably prepared by Adam Yarmolinsky, Consultant, who prepared the booklet, "Case Studies in Personnel Security." A Photostat of this memorandum is attached. We have also been confidentially advised that those engaged as so-called interviewers were attorneys who were paid at the rate of five dollars per hour while they were preparing the case write-ups. Additionally, Yarmolinsky is reported to have stated, "This study is intended primarily for use by a committee organized by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under a grant from the Fund, in order to make recommendations for changes in the operation of these programs." It consists of accounts of cases involving Government employees, industrial workers and merchant seamen, arising under the various Federal personnel security programs. These accounts are prepared from the files of lawyers who have advised or represented the employees and are written in such a way as to conceal the identity of the employee as nearly as possible. We are aiming at a compilation of some four hundred cases from various parts of the country to be completed by the end of May.

It appears that the Fund for the Republic has financed the Bar Association of the City of New York to make a survey. Then, the Fund for the Republic, through its own employee, Adam Yarmolinsky, obtained the case write-ups for presentation to the Bar Association of the City of

Bureau file 100-391697
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - P. C. Young, Room 7631
GMP:row
(12)

COMM-FBI

OCT 28 1955

MAILED 20

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 7-28-89 BY SP8 BJS/jlg

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

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The Attorney General

October 23, 1955

New York upon which that Association will make its recommendations. It is, of course, not known how much credence the Bar Association of the City of New York will give to the Yarmolinsky study; however, it is evident that if their recommendations were to be based upon the data supplied by Yarmolinsky, it is obvious what conclusions would be reached upon data that was biased and one-sided.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

FROM
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
to
Official indicated below by check mark

Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deputy Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>
Solicitor General	<input type="checkbox"/>
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Anti-Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Tax	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Civil	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Lands	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security	<input type="checkbox"/>
Administrative Assistant Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>
Accounts Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>
Records Administration Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>
Personnel Branch	<input type="checkbox"/>
Procurement Section	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transcription Section	<input type="checkbox"/>
Director, FBI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Assistant to the Director - Room 5640	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Director of Prisons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Director, Office of Alien Property	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pardon Attorney	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parole Board	<input type="checkbox"/>
Board of Immigration Appeals	<input type="checkbox"/>
Librarian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss McCarthy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Russo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Tyson	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mrs. Hessom	<input type="checkbox"/>

MEMORANDUM

Law -
allies!
dm

file 100-391677
247

10
ANNIVERSARY
YEAR

Public Relations News

815 Park Avenue • New York 21, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-7090

THE ONLY WEEKLY PUBLIC RELATIONS PUBLICATION FOR EXECUTIVES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Volume XI, No. 40

October 3, 1955

DATE 12/2/89 BY 60385 JJA 4688

Dear Subscriber,

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, made a speech a fortnight ago in Atlantic City before the American College of Hospital Administrators. The talk titled, "The Administrator Reconsidered," was, in our opinion, aptly named, because the address gave the Fund's trustees reason for reconsidering their president's qualifications for his post.

It is an established principle of modern management that an administrator of any organization, profit or non-profit, should have sound knowledge and appreciation of public relations. This should be especially true of the head of an organization such as the Fund which, four years ago, was set up by the Ford Foundation for the specific purpose of studying civil liberties and individual freedom in the United States. Yet this administrator revealed in a public address -- one which reached millions of people -- a flagrant ignorance of what PR is and does. It shocked his more informed management friends and alienated the PR profession.

Dr. Hutchins (ex-Chancellor of U. of Chicago) chose in his speech to misstate the objectives of PR by defining it as merely "trying to find out what the prevailing opinion is before you act and then acting in accordance with it." The educator further revealed his urgent need for PR education by telling his audience that "the administrator must have a clear, true vision of the end, and he must have courage, fortitude, justice, prudence, and patience in order to pursue it through all kinds of weather. The administrator who, instead of pursuing the end, pursues public relations, may make himself and his institution rich and popular..." In effect, Hutchins asserts that he who "pursues PR" has sacrificed his ideals.

There are thousands of management executives throughout America in every field of human endeavor -- business, religion, education, government, social welfare, etc. -- enthusiastically endorsing PR programs just because they do have lofty aims and because they are sincerely dedicated to having their organizations serve the public interest.

Your comments, Dr. Hutchins, might apply to a minority. But, in discussing such a profession as law, would you base your opinion and definition of it on the conduct of shysters? Would you damn medicine because there are quacks? Here's a definition of PR, formulated years ago by PUBLIC RELATIONS NEWS and widely accepted and quoted: "Public relations is the management function which evaluates public attitudes, identifies the policies and procedures of an individual or an organization with the public interest, and executes a program of action to earn public understanding and acceptance." Study it, Doctor, and in the interest of management, PR, and yourself, remember to use it in the future. RECORDED

62 NOV 15 1955

NOV 8 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson *W. P. T.*

DATE: 10/14/55

FROM :

L. B. Nichols *G.I.R.*

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Victor Riesel stated that Joseph P. Lyford, who handles public relations for the Fund for the Republic, has been in touch with him and is obviously trying to influence him. He has offered to put Riesel on the mailing list, to give him advance information on anything that developed in the Fund for the Republic and to give him complete details on anything that he wants. Riesel thought that it might be worthwhile to see what they had to offer. I told Victor I could see no objection to this but that he, of course, should not compromise himself. Riesel stated that he was going to keep hammering away at the Fund for the Republic; that he is particularly exercised over Robert Sherwood who is expounding the virtues of Yugoslavia.

Victor further told me that Dan Bell, the Labor Editor of Fortune Magazine who is in charge of the project "Communism in the Labor Movement" of the Fund for the Republic, along with Theodore Draper, who is writing the History of the Communist Party in the U. S. for the Fund for the Republic, are both using Earl Browder. Browder gets his pay checks from the Fund for the Republic, however, Bell and Draper claim that Browder is working for them but technically, Bell admits to Riesel that Browder is on the payroll. Riesel stated that Al Levy, who works for him, has known Paul Jacobs, who has been working on the Survey of Communist Infiltration into Hollywood. Levy and Jacobs, many years ago, were engaged in fighting Communists in the labor movement. Riesel thinks highly of Jacobs. Jacobs is getting pretty much disgusted with the Fund for the Republic. He knows the inside activities of the Fund and Victor thinks that if someone could approach Jacobs that he is so disgusted that he might furnish considerable information. Riesel further stated that Lee Pressman recently propositioned him that he would give Riesel any information Riesel wanted in return for Riesel keeping his name out of the column.

Riesel is going to start working on Pressman for information as to Browder's connection with the labor movement and the manner in which he dominated the labor movement with a view of utilizing this as he thinks that Bell will softpedal the Communist influence in the labor movement.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

10/14/55

Furthermore, Riesel has been irked at Browder for a long time and he is going to try to build a fire under Browder on the grounds that he could identify the individuals who corrupted the labor movement if he only would. Riesel stated that Pressman has been working on the waterfront, his daughter recently married into the Orbach family in New York and he thinks that Pressman's attitude has been improving. Riesel further stated that recently Joe Curran of the Longshoremen's Union was instrumental in having Hadley Stone ousted from the union in an ideological fight that had been taking place. Stone's ouster was effected by retiring him on a pension and giving him \$7500 a year. Stone was a key Communist figure in the CIO during the years that it was infiltrated. Stone is reported to be bitter against Curran and the Communists now and Riesel thinks that some attention might be given Stone as he might be in a frame of mind to talk. Stone lives at the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments in the Bronx. It is suggested that the Domestic Intelligence Division consider the foregoing information.

*NY has been
instructed to interview Stone.
RB 11-7-55*

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-10-86 BY SP8 BTJ/DAK
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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

THE AMERICAN LEGION
KENOSHA POST HERRICK BUILDING No. 21
504 - 58th Street
KENOSHA, WISCONSIN

October 25, 1955

Dear Friend:

Fund for the Republic

On Tuesday, October 11, 1955, the membership of this Post in a regular meeting by a formal vote directed the Americanism Committee to prepare a statement setting forth the objections of this Post to the organization Freedom Agenda. The material that is enclosed has been gathered by that Committee and it is the desire of this Post that it be sent to our membership, to those whose names have been publicly listed as sponsors, moderators and key couples in this project.

We consider it completely dishonest and unfair that so limited a background as to the nature of this program should have been submitted to prominent residents of this community in the hopes of obtaining their support, and to gain thereby the prestige they command. We believe that the following observation made by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is pertinent: "It is highly important that any person, 'Stop, Look and Listen' before he allows his name to be used by any newly created organization with whose aims he is not completely familiar."

known the true nature and contents of Freedom Agenda, that they would have endorsed or permitted the good name and reputation they enjoy to have been offered in sponsorship of this program. We believe that the glamor disappears, when the cover is lifted for a look under the surface. A public service can be performed by all of those who have brought this project into our community, by causing a very thorough study of the material to determine the extent of pro-communist influence, and then either continue the program or reject it.

We concur in the recommendations made by the committee on un-American activities of The American Legion of Westchester County (NY), a copy of which report is enclosed: "The Westchester County Committee on Un-American Activities recommends that the League of Women Voters completely citom the Choice pamphlet. We recommend that the Westchester organization of the League of Women Voters work toward this goal through its national group. And we further recommend that in the interest of its own reputation, the League of Women Voters completely re-evaluate the entire Freedom Agenda to separate the wheat from the chaff in determining the extent of influence of pro-communists associated with the project."

Very truly yours,

LL-EX-125

Glenn G. Erlson
Commander

100-391697-267

NOT RECORDED
29 NOV 4 1955

David Peterson
Adjutant.

Encl (3) Report of Committee on un-American Activities, Westchester, L.L.
Statement of Americanism Committee, Post 21, Kenosha, Wis.
Press Release of National Commander, the American Legion 9/12/55.

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FROM: National Public Health Division, Washington, D.C. Executive 3-4614

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HOLD FOR RELEASE MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1961

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11 - American Society of International Seaborn P. Collins today called the nation's daily press to "avoid any identification with the Republic".

Commander Collins, who is

"I am issuing this alert to our members... appears that the Fund for the Republic, headed by Dr. Robert H. ... is threatening and may succeed in supplying the national security."

"Study of projects and programs sponsored by the Fund for the Republic has convinced me that, without proper association, it tends to propagandize Americans into believing that:

"(1) communism never has been, and is not now, a serious danger to this country;

"(2) communism is the only danger to the United States; and that communism are the great danger and threaten the civil liberties of the American people;

"(3) security measures are in place which are used to harass and persecute innocent people;

"(4) intelligence and education are some of the things, but are abused by the government, which are the main danger to the country."

Many of the 100,000 copies of the report, which was collected by the Fund for the Republic, are being distributed to the press and the public.

The report states that the Fund for the Republic is a "resistance" and "intelligence" organization, which is "a threat to the national security" and "a threat to the national security" and "a threat to the national security".

Collins said that the Fund for the Republic is "a threat to the national security" and "a threat to the national security" and "a threat to the national security".

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as of Jan. 1961

Barbaro of Intelligence, stating: "Today we are closed by a prominent
information of the FBI. The only people we will believe are confessed spies
and traitors."

"Hutchins is entitled to an opinion that communists should be given
in teaching and in government. He is entitled to his opinion that
the Supreme Court, the courts and the FBI are evil when they are intolerant
of communists."

By the same token, Legationaires are entitled to know and be alerted
against an operation directed by Hutchins which, in our judgment, will not
serve the cause of American unity and strength."

Collins said he is "quite certain" that activities of the Fund for the
Republic will be closely scrutinized or debated at The American Legion's
annual National Convention in Miami, Fla. Oct. 1-3.

Collins declared:

"The Fund for the Republic in a press release of January 10, 1955
described itself as a 'K-K-K-K' organization, devoted to the promotion
principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of
Rights. It was established in 1954 to support activities directed toward the
elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression
in the United States and the development of policies and procedures best
adapted to protect this freedom."

He continued:

"That boy went into the office of the Fund for the Republic when it es-
tablished the fund for the Republic. Unfortunately, it seems to us that
the Fund for the Republic is a very real threat to the operation
of the United States and the world. It is a very real threat to the
freedom of the United States."

the following:

"A two year study financed by the Rockefeller Foundation 'Security, Loyalty and Science' by Prof. Walter Dillings reported that the loyalty programs have hindered scientific freedom and led to wasteful duplication of research by restricting the free exchange of ideas between scientists. The study also reported that the programs have hindered the training of young scientists and led to a loss of new discoveries." (emphasis added)

The DAILY PEOPLES WORLD five days later reviewed the article in the same fashion. He considered such attacks as mischievous, and he was "pained" that a book of this nature is recommended under the name of an important "work" or study of "INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY".

One of the pamphlets in the Freedom Agency service is by Rochester, N. Y. Dr. H. A. Chafee, introduced as "a great legal scholar and champion of American Constitutional liberty". We concur with the statement of the American League of the Chester County: "We consider it completely dishonest and unfair to insert this pamphlet through schools and libraries with such a falsified biography of this man. It should include the following material: Notorious reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee state that Chafee was affiliated with the Citizens Committee for Free and Browder; he was a sponsor of the National Committee to defeat the Mundt Bill; he signed a petition in support of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; he signed a statement for the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; he signed a statement on behalf of the Veterans of the South Atlantic in England; moreover he was listed in the 'Daily Worker' as signing a statement defending the Chinese Party. All of these organizations have been cited as subversive fronts."

Zachariah Chafee's opinions in the Freedom House magazine, "Freedom of Speech and Press" are consistent with the peculiar interpretations referred to above.

[illegible][illegible]

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

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COUNTY CONVENTION - MT. KISCO, N.Y. 7/16/55

REPORT BY UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Congressional committees each week expose new evidence of the communist conspiracy to overthrow our government and other precious institutions of our society. Only recently a Senate committee exposed, through direct testimony, that a pocket of communist reporters had infiltrated prominent New York Newspapers that are read as authoritative current history by millions of readers.

Despite these disclosures of the danger that exists at the abuse of our institutions by communists, there are organizations that are spending millions of dollars today to convince the public that the communist conspiracy is not a danger.

This report from your Committee on Un-American Activities concerns one of those projects which is calculated to delude the public into believing that communism is a red herring. This report concerns one of the country's most prominent organizations--the League of Women Voters--which is highly regarded here in Westchester. And it concerns one of our most precious heritages, the Bill of Rights.

A series of six pamphlets, entitled the Freedom Agenda, is being distributed nationally by the Carrie Chapman Catt Foundation, which was created by the League of Women Voters, and the League is promoting this project throughout Westchester. The Freedom Agenda pamphlets have had prominent display in the White Plains Public Library and are being promoted through the school system.

In the opinion of our Committee, this series of pamphlets is designed to further the delusion that the danger of communism is non-existent. The pamphlets discuss the Bill of Rights, freedom of speech and press, loyalty programs, Congressional investigating committees and subversion laws.

In the introduction to each pamphlet it is stated that the Freedom Agenda Committee does not seek to promote any particular point of view. Nevertheless, the dominant theme of the Freedom Agenda alleges that the various governmental procedures that have been set up to protect us against communism are a suppression of our Constitutional freedom.

The financial angle behind publication of the Freedom Agenda is the Fund for the Republic, another of those foundations that is devoted to promoting a one-sided view of the communist problem. The Fund for the Republic is the organization that financed the exhibition in Westchester and elsewhere of the filmed interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer. This film suppressed all the evidence supplied by the atomic energy Commission in denying to Oppenheimer access to classified documents. The Fund for the Republic also is giving national distribution to the article in the New York Times for its denigrating government witnesses. The article ignores all the experience of the FBI and the Justice Department on the necessity for safeguards in the protection of our security. And the Fund for the Republic is partly the Freedom Agenda.

We are most concerned about two things in the Freedom Agenda. The first is the series of pamphlets which are being distributed in the schools and libraries in the White Plains District. The second is the fact that a collection, both of which have been mentioned in the past, is being made.

The first of these is the Freedom Agenda, which is being distributed in the schools and libraries in the White Plains District. The second is the fact that a collection, both of which have been mentioned in the past, is being made.

No local

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daily tasks. He made speeches and he opposes the Smith Act. He opposes Congressional investigations, and he states that Congress abuses private citizens.

Finally Freedom Agency is to be a place of learning and understanding and respect for individuals and their education of local communities. It is not a place where there is no League of Women Voters or any other organization of educating respect for the American Bill of Rights, but it is a place where there is no respect for the American Constitution and the Fourth Amendment.

After all, what is the nature of our freedom of speech and of press and of academic freedom? It is derived from the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Alexander Hamilton. It is the right to speak with impunity--the right with good motives. Freedom of speech and press does not protect the liar, nor the liar's assistant, nor the liar's criminal conspirators. It is the right to speak and to write with good motives.

The Westchester County Committee on Un-American Activities recommends that the people of Westchester County should be educated in the matter. It recommends that the Westchester County Committee on Un-American Activities work toward the establishment of a Westchester County Committee on Un-American Activities that in the future should be a place of learning and understanding of the American Bill of Rights and the American Constitution. It is a place where there is no respect for the American Constitution and the Fourth Amendment.

THE AMERICAN LEGION
The Kenosha-Paul Norwick Post #1
504 53th Street Kenosha, Wis.

4436

Statement of Americanism Committee

10/20/55

For some weeks the Americanism committee of this Post has made a study of the program referred to as Freedom Agenda ~~Propaganda~~ Forum. Our concern became more particular when the National Command of the American Legion issued a press release, a copy of which is enclosed, in which he called on the nation's nearly 3 million Legionnaires to "avoid any identification with activities sponsored by the Fund for the Republic."

An examination of Freedom Agenda pamphlets shows: "The FREEDOM AGENDA program is made possible by a grant from the Fund for the Republic."

With this statement is enclosed a copy of the report of the committee on un-American activities of the American Legion of Kenosha County (WY). The Americanism Committee of this Post is prepared to support all of the charges that are made in opposition and further detail by way of governmental records, the charge that material recommended in the annotated bibliography or under the heading "Suggestions for Further Study" in Freedom Agenda pamphlets, has been authored by individuals who have a record of affiliations with communist front organizations, and in two instances by individuals who have been identified as communists.

We are prepared to show that nine of the authors whose material is recommended have communist front records. In addition, the American Legion of Kenosha County, are concerned about "the extent of influence of pro-communists associated with the project."

Authors of Freedom Agenda pamphlet and authors whose works are recommended are obligated to their own peculiar opinions regarding our country's program. But, at the same time, we believe that the program of the program and the public generally, has a right to know the definite contents of programs that they are called upon to endorse, especially when it is called under a study of "individual liberty."

Material of Alan Barth is recommended in one of the Freedom Agenda pamphlets as a "very general work containing many examples of existing material." We are concerned and disturbed when we find that this work was reviewed in the DAILY PROGRESS WORLD of Jan. 1, 1954, on page 1, as follows:

"The propagandist that he calls the author presents an oratory, and vigorously attacks the right of teachers to teach in the schools."

The DAILY PROGRESS WORLD has been officially on record as page 131 of GUIDE TO THE AMERICAN LEGION (1954) as a "publication of the committee on un-American activities of the American Legion of Kenosha County, Wis." The committee on un-American activities of the American Legion of Kenosha County, Wis.

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